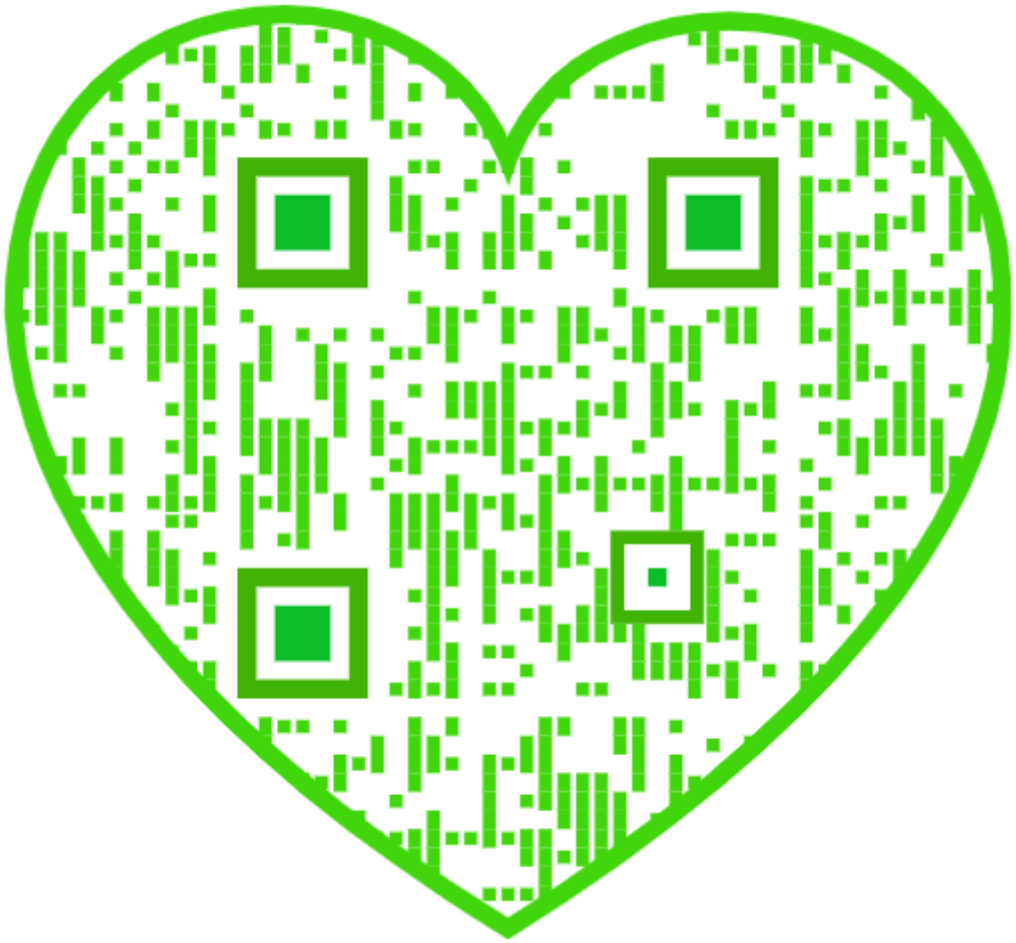

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ALMSHOUSE, NEWTON, MASSACHUSETTS

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—

THE ALMSHOUSE
CONSTRUCTION AND MANAGEMENT

BY

ALEXANDER JOHNSON

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

NEW YORK
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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

IN preparing this work the author has based it upon his own experiences as an inspector of almshouses and as the superintendent of an institution for defectives. But he has also drawn freely upon the Proceedings of the National Conference; the reports of various State Boards of Charity, especially those of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Ohio, and Indiana; the Report of the British Commission on Poor Laws; Aschrott's book on the English Poor Law System, and one or two minor sources.

He wishes to acknowledge his particular indebtedness to the following persons whose writings he has used, sometimes in quotations, sometimes in paraphrases: Mrs. Alice N. Lincoln, Mrs. Charles R. Lowell, Miss Mary Vida Clark, Mr. Ernest Bicknell, Mr. Amos W. Butler, Mr. Joseph P. Byers, Dr. Albert G. Byers, Mr. John Glenn, Mr. Almont W. Gates, Mr. A. O. Wright, Professor Charles Ellwood, Mr. George S. Wilson, Mr. H. H. Giles, General Roeliff Brinkerhoff, and Rt. Rev. G. D. Gillespie.

Some of these have joined the majority, but their works survive them and form part of what the writer believes to be the most valuable, as it is probably the largest, collection of sociological information in the world,—The Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction.

Fort Wayne, Indiana
May 1, 1911

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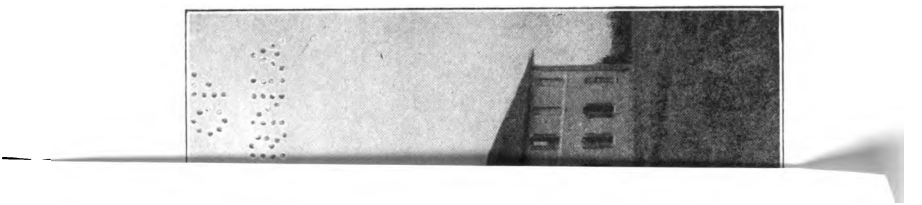

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

IMPORTANCE OF RIGHT METHODS

SO LONG as there shall be poor people to be cared for by public charity, a place of refuge, an asylum for worn out and feeble men and women, will probably be a necessity. The purpose of this volume is to indicate in a plain and simple manner a few of those things which are often overlooked, but which, if carefully attended to, make for comfort and economy in connection with such an institution.

It may seem to the reader that many suggestions are here made on matters that would be self-evident to any intelligent person, but none are made in writing which have not been made verbally where the need of instruction and advice has been apparent. With very few exceptions, no method is proposed in this book which is not in more or less successful practice somewhere. Several excellent methods in use on the continent of Europe are recommended, and some of those here advised as suitable to almshouses of moderate size have proved effective in institutions of a different class. No evils or errors are reprobated

or warned against, which have not been observed by the writer or by others upon whose veracity he can depend. That is to say, the work is based upon actual conditions, not upon theories.

While parsimony is always to be deplored, the importance of true economy in almshouse management can hardly be overestimated. But while considering economy in our methods for the relief of poverty in one department, we must not overlook its bearing upon others; we must consider the problem as a whole; hence it by no means follows that the almshouse with the lowest per capita cost is the most economical for the community. In many instances the alternative of almshouse care is outdoor relief. Now, of all forms of public charity, outdoor relief, except under the most careful supervision, is the most liable to abuse, the most certain to grow to an inordinate amount. An almshouse which is so conducted as to be repellent may be a cause of unnecessary increase of outdoor relief.

People not really in need of its shelter will rarely seek admission to the almshouse. But many will accept outdoor relief who are not really in need of charitable aid and probably would get on pretty well without it if they were offered the alternative of admission to the almshouse or nothing. When, therefore, the institution is known to be so bare of comfort, so severe in its discipline, or so badly managed, that public opinion will not sanction a decent old person's being forced into it, then out-

door relief inevitably increases in amount, and with its increase comes a rapid growth in the amount of general pauperism.

A well-managed, comfortable almshouse is a preventive of unnecessary pauperism. Those who really need public care can have it there, and those who do not need it will not seek it there. An ill-kept, disorderly almshouse, without proper classification of inmates, without thorough discipline and order, without efficient control over those whom it feeds and clothes, and without any permanence in its relations to the degenerates among those for whom it cares, may be not only a cause of dire waste of public funds, but will inevitably promote and increase pauperism and degeneracy and all the human ills that come from them.

To fully appreciate the social degradation that may result from the conditions that are frequently found in a large mixed almshouse, we must go across the Atlantic.* But a candid observer will be obliged to admit that, while the evils complained of in such documents as the report of the British Commission are not yet so highly developed in this country, the beginnings of every one of them may be found here. Conditions exist today in institutions belonging to cities of enormous wealth and unexampled prosperity that are most repellent to every right-minded observer.

The difficulties of proper management of an

* See Appendix I, page 141, an extract from the Report of the British Poor Law Commission of 1910.

institution for the poor increase rapidly with the number gathered together under one roof. This fact is so important and so positive that every effort should be made to break up the vast aggregations of paupers which we now find in some places, into smaller and more manageable units; as, for example, by the cottage system, which secures for a large institution many of the advantages of the smaller ones.

Statesmen in the United States may well study such documents as the one alluded to above. The American system of poor relief has been largely modeled upon that of England; the history of its development has been remarkably similar to the history of poor relief in England and Wales. Fortunately we are not yet too far along the downward course to halt and retrace our steps. We have not yet accumulated, as has Great Britain, "a class not only numerically great, but steadily increasing, of physical, mental, and moral defectives of her own producing, who have in turn created problems in sociology, criminology, and public health which threaten her national existence."

That the British system of poor relief, and especially the English workhouse system, as it has been administered, is responsible for a large share in the creation of the specter of decadence which now haunts the British government, is certain. If it has done nothing else, it has kept alive and secured the perpetuation of a large number of ill-nourished, physically, mentally, and morally

inefficient people; while it has avowedly and deliberately refused to do more than keep them barely alive. It distinctly refuses anything in the nature of prevention of poverty. Its sole purpose is to relieve destitution and it does this in a manner to encourage, if not to enforce, the perpetuation of the destitution it relieves. Many other causes have contributed to the total ill effect, not the least of which is the habit of alcoholism which seems fastened upon so many of the people. Yet how many of these contributing causes are themselves the effects of the degeneration which they in turn increase, it is not easy to calculate.

The problem of the almshouse is not merely a problem of economical administration, nor of human comfort and happiness; it is a part of the great social problem of poverty which confronts us, and must be considered in its general relations, especially its relations to the causes, the relief, and the prevention of poverty. Any remedial institution, organization, or method which increases the evils it is designed to cure, while merely palliating some of their effects, must show an imperative necessity for existence, or be wiped out. In order that the almshouse or other institution shall be a benefit and not a detriment to the body politic, we must make sure that it shall not, either positively or negatively, encourage and foster degeneracy, as will be the case if it does nothing for degenerate human beings but to keep them alive and allow them to increase and multiply. Care for them

kindly the almshouse must when they come to it. But *care* of defectives has a necessary corollary, and that is *control.* At present a great many of our almshouses, perhaps the majority of them, are doing the first; they are making their inmates fairly comfortable. But very few of them are doing all that they should in the way of control; partly because they do not realize the need, partly because they do not know how to exert the power, but chiefly because our laws do not plainly prescribe the duty, nor authorize the method of performing it.

Although other administrative problems are the main theme of this book, a firmer control of the defective inmates of almshouses than is at present usually exercised is plainly demanded, and a few methods of securing it which have been successfully employed are suggested in the following pages.

THE NAME OF THE INSTITUTION

In all our newer nomenclature we are continually trying to find milder names for disagreeable things, by which we may seem to soften the harsh facts of existence. But a change of name usually indicates something more than a desire for euphemism. It has usually been with a genuine desire to make the almshouse into a real home for worthy poor people that a change of name has been adopted. With a less offensive term has usually come a milder and kinder management.

The names of the institutions differ in different states and countries. In Great Britain the "Union Workhouse" is the legal name of the public institution for the poor.* The term "almshouse" is most frequent in New England and in some of the Eastern states; in the Middle West "poorhouse" is the most common; in Ohio the legal name is "county infirmary"; in Indiana it is the "county asylum"; in New York City the institution is called the "Home for the Aged and Infirm"; in Maryland it is the "county home"; in California the "county hospital";† and in Richmond, Virginia, "almshouse" was recently changed to "city home."

If it were not for its suggestion of insanity, the Indiana name of "asylum" would be the most appropriate. Possibly the "Home for the Aged and Infirm" is the most free from disagreeable connotations of any. For the purposes of this book the common term "almshouse" will be used.

* See Appendix II, page 149, on the Origin of the English Workhouse System.

† See Appendix III, page 158, on Methods of the County Hospital with its poorhouse department in California.

CHAPTER II

LOCATION AND CAPACITY

THE LOCATION

SPEAKING for the vast majority of almshouses in the United States we can say that the location chosen should be in the country, not too far from the centers of population they are to serve. The advantages of pure air, cheap land, and pleasant surroundings, are all on the side of the country as opposed to the crowded town or city. On the other hand, accessibility is of vital importance, not only in order to bring the expense of transportation to a minimum, but also to make easy that general public knowledge of public institutions and affairs which is one of the best safeguards against abuse. The worst abuses that the writer has ever found have occurred in small almshouses hidden away in remote corners, inaccessible, neglected, forgotten. "The dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty."*

* The above is by no means a universal criticism of small country almshouses. Some of the most homelike, comfortable, and excellent almshouses which the writer has ever inspected have been comparatively small farmhouses, far from the main traveled roads; but these are the exceptions.

Another most important reason for a country location is the possibility of raising a large part of the food supply for the institution upon its own land. The question of institution farming is one upon which difference of opinion exists. It has been claimed that people who are able to work upon a farm do not properly belong in an institution, and that therefore the work must be done by hired labor; that it is not likely that a superintendent can properly manage the institution and at the same time make a large farm profitable.

The arguments in favor of a farm and garden as an adjunct of an institution are, however, very strong. No matter how careful the management, there will inevitably be more or less waste from the kitchen and dining rooms, and this can be profitably disposed of only by feeding it to domestic animals. Then the final purchase price of all kinds of farm produce is made up so largely of the costs of transportation and selling, that even if the farm is not conducted as successfully as others near it, the fact of a home market, at the highest market prices, for all that it produces, more than makes up the difference.

It should be remembered also that there are certain cheap and healthful articles of food, such as fresh fruit, eggs, and the choicer vegetables, which from motives of economy are seldom or never purchased in sufficient quantity for the inmates of an almshouse, but which may, if raised on the premises, be served freely and often.

Again, for many classes of people who are capable of a certain amount of labor although they are not able to be self-supporting, an outdoor occupation is essential to health. Such occupation, suited to all degrees of strength and intelligence, can be found upon a farm and garden in larger measure and in greater variety, than anywhere else.

The above considerations, namely, the profitable use of waste material, the saving of transportation and selling charges upon large quantities of bulky food-stuffs, the securing at a cheap cost of liberal supplies of milk, fruits and vegetables, and the opportunities of healthful labor, all point to the desirability of a large acreage of farm and garden land. It goes without saying that the soil for the purpose should be of good quality. Although a good area of rough land may be a very profitable possession in connection with certain institutions which, like those for the feeble-minded or the epileptic, have a large available supply of low grade labor, such land would, as a rule, be of little use to an almshouse.

CHOICE OF A SITE

In choosing a site for a county almshouse, granting that this should be located in the country, certain qualifications are essential; others while not strictly essential are highly desirable; and a third class of qualifications are advantageous and should

be heeded as determining factors. There are three essentials; namely, accessibility, water supply, and drainage. The first of these, accessibility, has been already treated under "location."

An abundant supply of pure water is imperatively necessary. Whenever possible this should be a local one. Although in the case of an institution near a town, the water supply connected with it may sometimes be tapped, the charge for this is usually high, and the water is not always perfectly pure. Undoubtedly deep driven wells are the most trustworthy, both for purity and steady supply. It is rarely that springs are found with sufficient capacity for the number of people to be supplied, and they are often in danger of contamination from surface drainage. The quantity necessary for all purposes may be taken as approximately one hundred gallons a day per capita. This is an ample supply. Institutions have managed to exist with less than half that amount available; but with all the chances of long continued droughts, with the need of fire protection, the desirability of sprinkling lawns, etc., an initial supply of one hundred gallons is the lowest amount that should be considered sufficient in choosing a site. The available supply should be carefully determined before a site is purchased, the water analyzed by a competent chemist and a satisfactory degree of purity assured. Filtering should never be depended upon. All this may cost money, but it is the only safe plan to adopt. Guess-work here

in the beginning may prove to be very costly in the end.

The third essential is good drainage, either natural or artificial. This, like the water supply, should be carefully studied before the site is chosen, and a method of drainage, including the final disposal of all sewage, be determined upon from the outset. Whenever possible the site chosen should be on gravel or sandy soil, either of which affords natural surface drainage. Only when there are overpowering reasons for the choice should a site be selected upon which artificial drainage is necessary for health. If this must be resorted to, then the drainage system should be installed before the house is built.

The conditions which may be regarded as highly desirable, though not absolutely essential, are natural fertility of land, good condition of soil as the result of proper treatment in the past, and suitability of the soil for growing vegetables and fruit. Attention to these conditions too often occupies first place instead of second in the minds of those charged with the duty of locating an institution.

There is a final matter which may be properly considered, and that is, the scenic beauty of the site. Utilitarian ideas usually relegate such a matter to the background. Yet, as between two or more sites offering equal advantages, there is no reason why a pleasant view should not be considered. The writer has seen an almshouse, located on sloping ground commanding a beautiful

view of hill and river, with the back of the house turned to the prospect and every window in rooms occupied by the inmates facing a blank wall or a barren hillside. He has also seen a house with moderate or even poor accommodation, yet with a front porch from which, in fine weather, a charming view of an open valley with a little town in the distance was immensely enjoyed by the feeble old people who made up its population.

Another useful thing sometimes found on a site and enhancing its value is a good "wood-lot." Although the use of wood for fuel is a thing of the past in most parts of the country, there are still many districts where some wood available for part of the heating can be found. The wood-lot on the almshouse farm is a thing of both use and beauty. A grove is always a pleasant sight and it is valuable for recreation purposes. When in addition it yields wood enough for the cook stove and for a few open-hearth fires in the living rooms it has an increased value, not only as furnishing fuel, but as providing winter occupation for some of the stronger male inmates who work on the farm in summer. The open fire is probably rare in any but the small almshouses, yet there are few where it would not be gladly welcomed.

SIZE AND CAPACITY

The capacity of the almshouse necessarily depends upon the population and conditions in the

city, town, or county which it serves, and also on the habits and customs of the population.

Unfortunately, as a general rule the number of paupers to provide for varies directly with the wealth of a given city or state. In a given state the county with the most paupers in proportion to the whole population is rarely, or never, the county with the least wealth, either absolutely or relatively to the population. This is no place to attempt to explain the seeming anomaly that wealth and poverty increase and diminish side by side. We may only state the bald fact that they at least seem to do so.

This volume deals chiefly with almshouses of moderate size with a capacity of from twenty-five to two hundred and fifty inmates. To this class belong at least half of the almshouses in the United States today, and perhaps 50 per cent of the remainder are smaller.* The management of the large institution with thousands of inmates, therefore, is not one which the writer is here attempting to discuss, and fortunately, care of a vast number of paupers in one place, as in the institutions in New York City, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, and a few other cities, is not often necessary.

In deciding on the capacity of a proposed public building in most parts of this rapidly growing country, the probable increase of the population

* See Appendix IV, page 160, giving the average number of inmates in the almshouses of a number of states.

to be cared for, as well as the immediate demands, should be considered. If the best plan of construction, the cottage system, is adopted, it is not necessary to build at first all the cottages that will some day be needed. As will be pointed out in the chapter on Classification, additions may be cheaply built for special classes at a subsequent period, and provided that the main administrative departments are ample, no loss is incurred by beginning with a capacity for a smaller number than will some day be present. On the other hand, to erect a building with halls, dormitories, and day rooms much in excess of present requirements, causes an undue expense, not only in the initial outlay, but still more in the cost of conducting the institution until the time comes, if it ever does, when population catches up with capacity.

The best plan, therefore, is to begin with room for only a few more than are at present in sight, and provide for the increase as fast as, or a little faster than, it comes. At the same time, the general plan on which the various buildings are grouped should include place for additions when needed.

CHAPTER III

CONSTRUCTION

BUILDING PLANS

IN instructing the architect who is to draw the plans of a new almshouse, several positive requirements should be made from the outset. The important feature is not the façade. The county commissioners, or whoever may be the governing board, are not about to build a monument to themselves, nor to the architect, nor yet a show place for the county. Their purpose is to erect a comfortable, substantial, and economical home for a number of old or feeble persons. The excellence of the floor plan, therefore, is of more importance than the front elevation.

The essential points to notice are classification, which includes complete sex separation; abundance of sunlight and fresh air; correct proportion of floor space to the various uses; convenience of access for the administration to every part of the house; and the comfort and convenience of all the inmates.

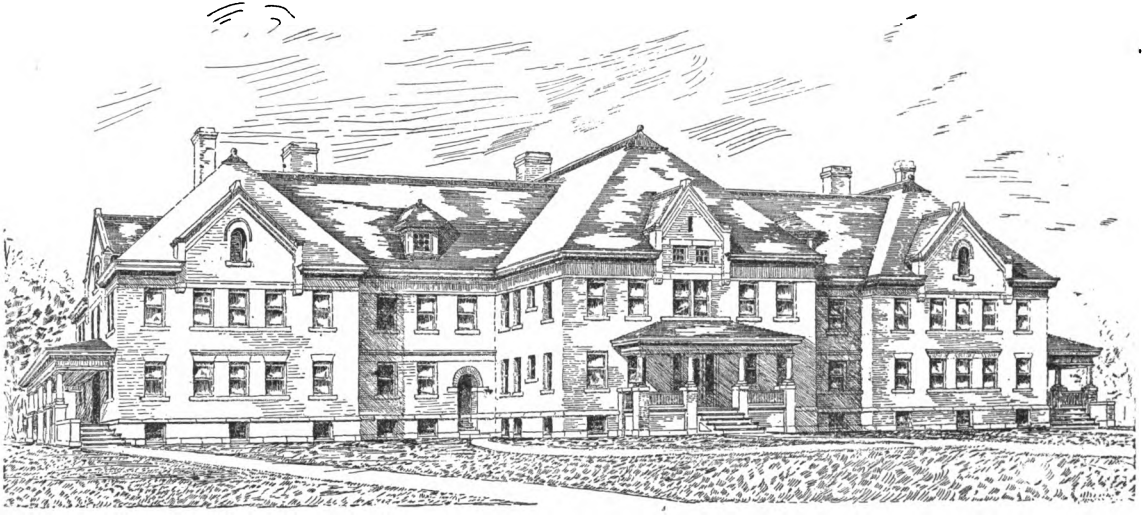
The number of inmates to be provided for at the outset being decided, the proportionate numbers

of single bedrooms and dormitories and the floor space which they require can be set down. Then the floor space of the dining rooms and day rooms should be established in due proportion, the space to be occupied by the kitchens and other domestic offices, and that needed for the administration and the rooms for employes. All these matters should be agreed upon before a line is drawn.

The general arrangement shown in several of the plans given in this book* has been evolved in the course of the past forty or fifty years,—an arrangement which through usage has become wellnigh standardized. It is based on the principles of convenient management, and sex separation. It consists of a central building for the administration department, with dining rooms, kitchens, and other offices in the "rear center," as it is called, and two wings, one for men and one for women. Occasionally, for very small institutions, there is only one dining room and one infirmary or hospital department, but usually every feature is in duplicate, the dining room being divided into two rooms, so that the only place in which the male and female inmates meet is the chapel or assembly hall.

No public institution for defectives, feeble old people, or children should ever be more than two stories in height. One partial exception to this rule is that the "front center," or administration department, may be three stories, the third to be

*See pages 20–21, 32–33, and 128–129.



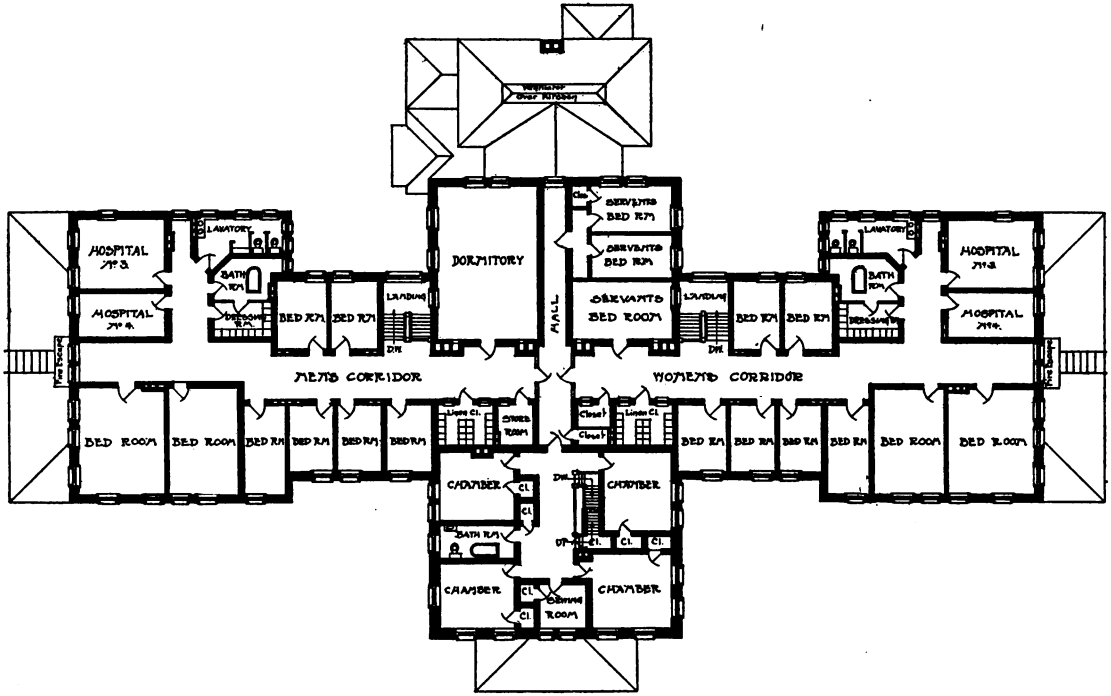
ADAMS COUNTY POOR ASYLUM, DECATUR, INDIANA

Cuno Ribele, Architect, Muncie, Indiana

used for the bedrooms of employes. The alleged economy of higher buildings is deceptive. While a given amount of floor space can be most cheaply provided in a three- or four-story house, there are many advantages in two-story construction which are sufficiently strong to cause one to reject the higher building. Among these are accessibility to the outdoors, the reduction of labor in both operation and oversight, and the fact that absolutely fire-proof construction, with its great cost, is not so necessary.

A frequent error in construction is that of disproportionate space between the rooms used for different purposes. The writer has seen a county almshouse containing two hundred beds, in which the two dining rooms were overcrowded with fifty inmates in each. It is especially necessary in planning buildings for the care of feeble and old people that the right proportions shall exist in the original plan. A simple formula which may be taken as fairly accurate for dining room, day room, and bedroom floor space is 1 to 2 to 4; that is, twice the floor space of the dining room for the day room and twice that of the day-room floor for the dormitories. With ceilings 10 feet high, 60 square feet of floor will give the dormitories 600 cubic feet per inmate, 30 square feet for day rooms will give 300, and 15 square feet for dining rooms will give 150. These proportions, along with good ventilation, will be found satisfactory. It cannot be denied that there are many institutions with a

First Floor Plan, Adams County Poor Asylum, Decatur, Indiana



SECOND FLOOR PLAN, ADAMS COUNTY POOR ASYLUM, DECATUR, INDIANA

considerably smaller amount of floor space per inmate than is suggested above, which are fairly satisfactory. But when we consider the difficulty of securing good ventilation, the frequent tendency to overcrowding, and the prevalence of other unfavorable conditions, it is well to begin with such a standard as is here set forth.

Many almshouses are so faultily planned as to compel the inmates to use the same rooms for both sleeping and living, so that it is impossible properly to air rooms or bedding without exposing the inmates to drafts. Occasionally one even finds meals being served in rooms which the inmates occupy both by day and night. Dormitories should be used for the one purpose only.

If the location is favorable the front of the institution should be to the north, since the rooms which most need sunlight are usually placed at the rear of the house. In that case there is a natural fourfold division into the front center, the rear center, the east wing and the west wing.

If the cottage plan* is adopted the division is three-fold: first, the administration building, which contains the front and rear centers; second, the cottages for men; and third, those for women. The cottage plan is advisable for a population of one hundred or more, notwithstanding the fact

* See Appendix XVII, page 239. Plans shown on pages 20, 32, and 96, are for almshouses with a capacity for thirty-eight, sixty, and two hundred and sixty inmates, respectively. The two smaller are of the congregate type, the larger shows a group of cottages connected by covered corridors.

that it is somewhat more expensive. However, connecting covered corridors between the buildings are not necessary, even in the North.*

Institutional life cannot be made homelike, yet the more plain and simple the arrangements, the nearer is the approach to homelikeness. "Palaces for paupers," as some great almshouses have been called, are not a source of happiness to their inmates. The common people prefer to live with their feet near the ground.

DIVISIONS OF THE HOUSE

THE FRONT CENTER. This usually contains the main office of the institution, a reception room, rooms for the use of the superintendent and his family, and rooms for some of the employes.

The office should be commodious enough for the work of the institution and it and the reception room, with the entrance hall, should occupy the front of the first floor of the administration building.

The superintendent's quarters should be com-

* Visiting the Toledo, Ohio, Hospital for Insane, a large institution on the cottage plan, the writer, in conversation with an old lady, one of the inmates, expressed regret that, as the weather was bad, she might be inconvenienced by having to walk across to the central dining hall for dinner. She replied, "Oh, we don't mind that, and then you know if we didn't have to go out to the dining hall, we would never get out of the house at all in bad weather." Reporting her conversation to Dr. Tobey, the superintendent, who had had long experience in hospital work, he said that when he took charge he felt that at any cost, connecting corridors must be built, but that after a few months' experience he changed his mind and would not think of asking for them, as they were quite needless.

fortable and sufficient; a public official housed in a public building is entitled to decent accommodation and a reasonable amount of privacy. The apartments should include a sitting room, or parlor, at least three bedrooms with bathroom adjoining, a dining room, and a kitchen. There should be lavatories and toilets on each floor. The private dining room and kitchen for the superintendent and his family are often omitted, but this is a serious mistake. While the bearing of the superintendent to his subordinates and the inmates should be of the utmost friendliness, he must avoid familiarity, hence in his hours of relaxation and ease he should have his own private apartments.

THE REAR CENTER. Here, on the first floor, are found the dining rooms for the inmates and, in a large institution, a separate dining room for employes, the kitchens, scullery, pantry, and store room. Sometimes also the clothing room can be placed here. The second floor is used for the bedrooms of employes and sometimes for a large dormitory; occasionally, in the larger institutions, for a chapel or assembly room. Several of the plans shown in this book give a good general idea of the arrangements, which vary indefinitely with the size of the institution.

The dining rooms should be well lighted; the scullery is most conveniently placed between the kitchen and the dining room. The kitchen is

often of one story with a monitor roof affording ventilation through windows in the monitor. If not so built, careful thought should be given to the ventilation, so that the odors of cooking may not be carried through the house.

THE MEN'S AND WOMEN'S WINGS. The first floor of the wings, or cottages, should be given to day rooms, a few small single bedrooms for feeble inmates, the clothing rooms, and the infirmary wards.

The second floor should be used for dormitories with lavatories adjoining. In some cases it is necessary to put the infirmary wards on the second floor, and sometimes these are placed on the second floor of the rear center. In any case, they should be placed so that they can be easily reached from the central part of the house, and where they may have good air and plenty of sunshine.

THE INFIRMARY DEPARTMENT OR HOSPITAL. An almshouse should have beds enough in its infirmary department for from 10 to 12 per cent of its inmates. This does not mean that there will usually, or frequently, be so many sick at any one time, but that it should be possible to give proper care to that number. It follows that for an institution of two hundred or more inmates the hospital should be in a separate building, and even for a population of one hundred, a small detached infirmary cottage is advantageous.

Plans for hospital buildings have been elaborately worked out and every architect has them, or

knows where they can be had. It is only necessary to add here that all that has been said about ventilation, convenience of toilets and water supply, and general sanitation, applies with special force to the construction of a hospital.*

In the smaller almshouses, the infirmaries, or sick wards, should be situated in the wings on the women's and men's sides respectively, preferably on the first floor. But, whether located on the first floor or upstairs, the sick room should have the best air and pleasantest aspect in the house. The advantage of the first floor location is nearness to the working parts of the house, so that it is comparatively easy to wait on those who do not require constant care but need occasional attention, and who are in danger of suffering if not seen frequently. For any but the smallest institutions, infirmaries should be subdivided into a large ward, which may hold from four to ten beds, and a small adjoining room suitable for a single patient. The small room should have its own doorway into the hall. This arrangement is very convenient in the event of a single case of contagious disease. Prompt isolation may avert a troublesome and dangerous epidemic.

Proximity of the sick room to water supply, bathroom, and toilet is important. It should never be necessary to carry waste water a long

* See Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction for 1888, p. 171, for a valuable paper on the Municipal Hospital, describing construction, etc., by Dr. Ancker, of St. Paul, Minn.

distance. On the other hand it is not a good plan to have sinks and stationary washstands in the room itself.

PORCHES OR VERANDAHS. These may be made to add to the attractive appearance of the house, while they are a pleasant and even necessary addition to its accommodations. If the infirmary department is on the second floor, it is well to have the verandah on that part of the house two stories high, so as to afford a convenient and accessible place for the convalescents to enjoy the fresh air.

If, as usually happens, there are consumptives to provide for, the verandah of the infirmary may be fitted up as sleeping quarters for them. This does not mean that it is to be screened in by glass windows. All that is necessary is sufficient protection for the beds from rain and hard winds, and this can be secured by a wide roof and side boards a little higher than the head of the beds.

DORMITORIES VERSUS SINGLE BEDROOMS. For cleanliness, ventilation, economy of first cost, ease of supervision and other reasons, dormitories containing four, six, twelve, or even more beds are so far preferable to small single bedrooms that they should be used as far as practicable. For certain of the older inmates and some others who will be mentioned in the chapter on classification, single bedrooms should be provided, so that the ideal plan is one including dormitories and bedrooms in due proportion. In large dormitories it is practicable to screen the beds, when necessary,

in such a way as to give the effect of privacy. If the screens are light and easily moved they interfere but little with the advantages which accrue from the dormitory plan.

The due proportion between dormitory beds and single room beds will vary in every institution with the character of the inmates and the ability of the management. A fair estimate, based on the writer's experience in the inspection of almshouses in only one state, is that from one-fourth to one-third of the inmates should be given single rooms, a few of the rooms being made larger than the rest so as to accommodate old married couples who may wish to be together in one double bed.* The remaining two-thirds or three-fourths of the population may then be accommodated in dormitories of various sizes, each containing from four to as many as twenty beds, the variation being, again, in accordance with the character of the inmates to be lodged.

THE LAVATORIES. The lavatory or toilet room for each dormitory should always be conveniently accessible. It should never be in the same room but should adjoin it on the same floor, and should contain toilets, wash basins, and bathtubs or shower baths proportionate to the number of beds in the dormitory. If no other inmates use the same set of fixtures, a dormitory with sixteen beds should have a lavatory adjoining it with at least

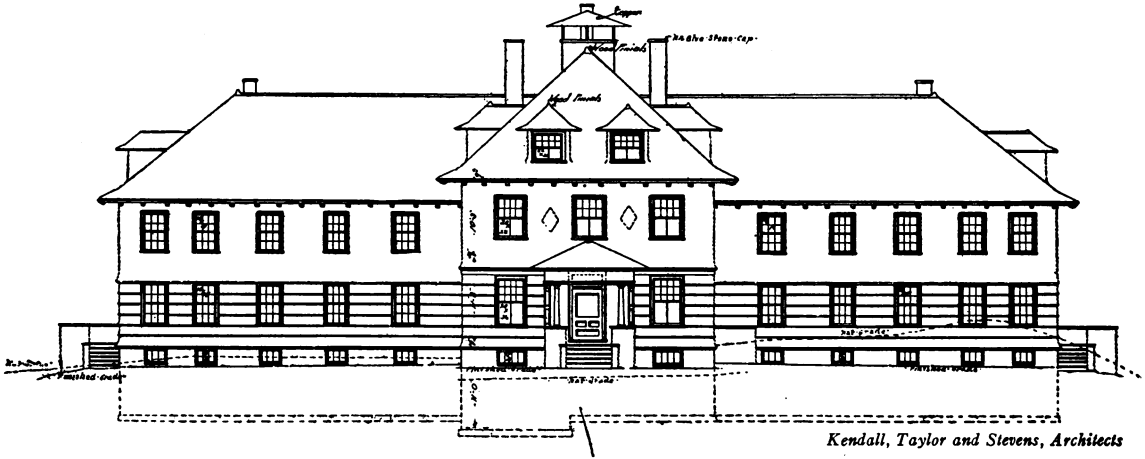
* This plan should not be obligatory; it is frequently the case that old couples prefer to separate.

four wash basins, two baths and two water closets. If the number using the same room is doubled, the number of fixtures should be increased 50 per cent. In all cases the bathtubs and the toilets should be separately screened.

A great deal of time in the use of the bathtubs can be saved by using large faucets. A faucet with a 1¼ inch opening will fill a bathtub in about one-fourth the time that is taken by one of the usual ¾ inch size. Similarly with the discharge pipe; this should be 1¾ or 2 inches gauge. The difference of time is so marked as to materially increase the bathing capacity of a set of tubs. Three tubs with the large faucets and discharges will accommodate as many bathers, allowing the usual ten minutes' actual bathing time to each, as four tubs with the small faucets. The slight extra cost of the larger faucets may be saved many times over in the first installation, while the temptation to the unsanitary practice of bathing several persons in the same water is much lessened.

LAUNDRY. Whenever practicable the laundry should be in a detached building one story high, with a monitor roof allowing for ventilation through the windows in the monitor.

As a general proposition in institution economy, the question as to whether machinery shall or shall not be installed in any given department largely depends upon the character of the inmates and the inventiveness of the superintendent in the

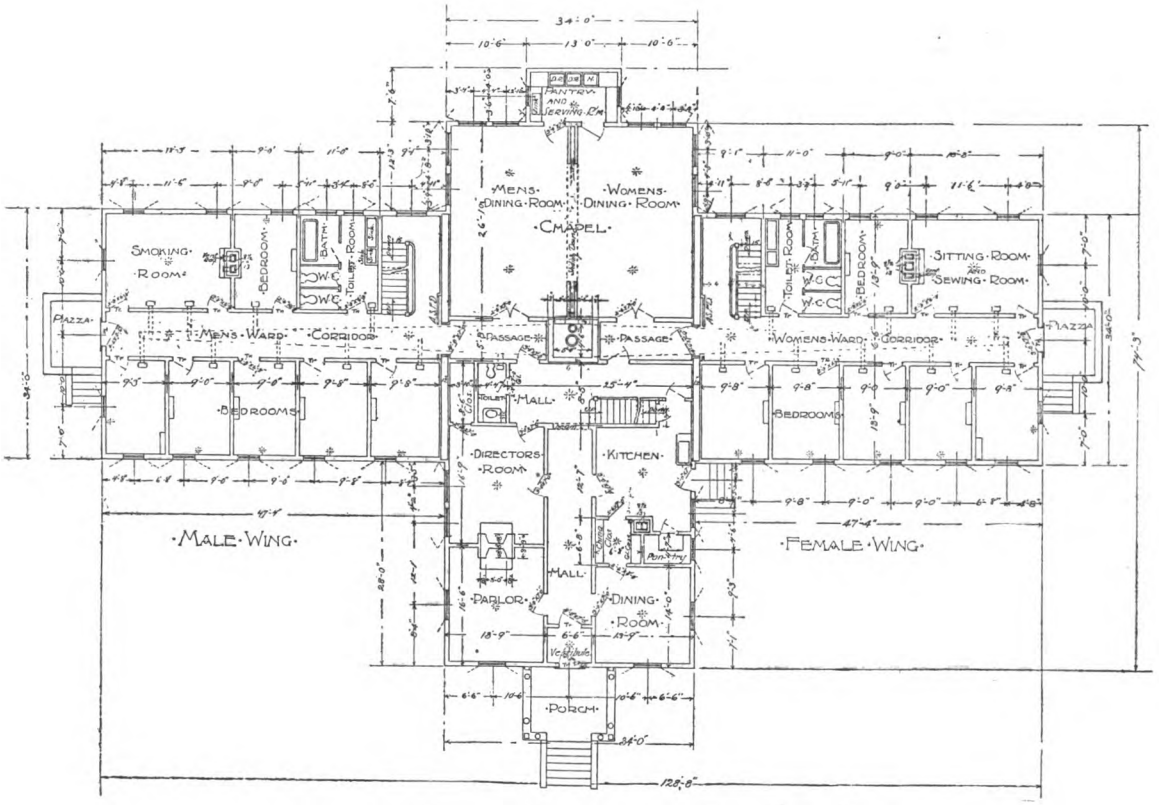


Kendall, Taylor and Stevens, Architects

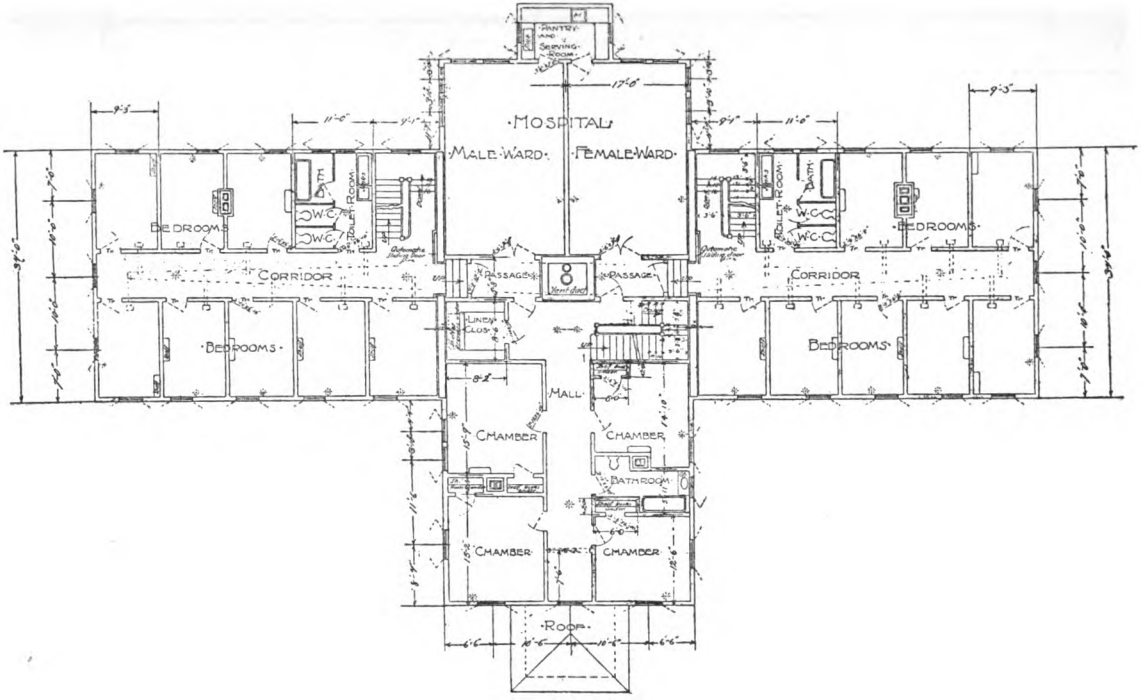
ALMSHOUSE, NEWTON, MASSACHUSETTS. FRONT ELEVATION, EAST

utilization of their labor. But for any number of inmates over forty it is economical to install some machinery, at least one steam washer and a centrifugal wringer, and when there are a hundred inmates or more, steam dry rooms are essential. Small gas or gasoline engines, of simple construction to give the necessary power, can now be had at moderate cost. Every ironing room should be equipped with a special stove for heating irons. Stoves of this kind are now manufactured which save fuel, and also prevent the room's being unduly heated in summer, as is the case when ordinary cook stoves are used for heating irons. Whenever gas, either artificial or natural, is available, that should be used. In a large institution equipped with electric power from its own plant and having surplus power during daylight, irons heated with electricity can sometimes be used.

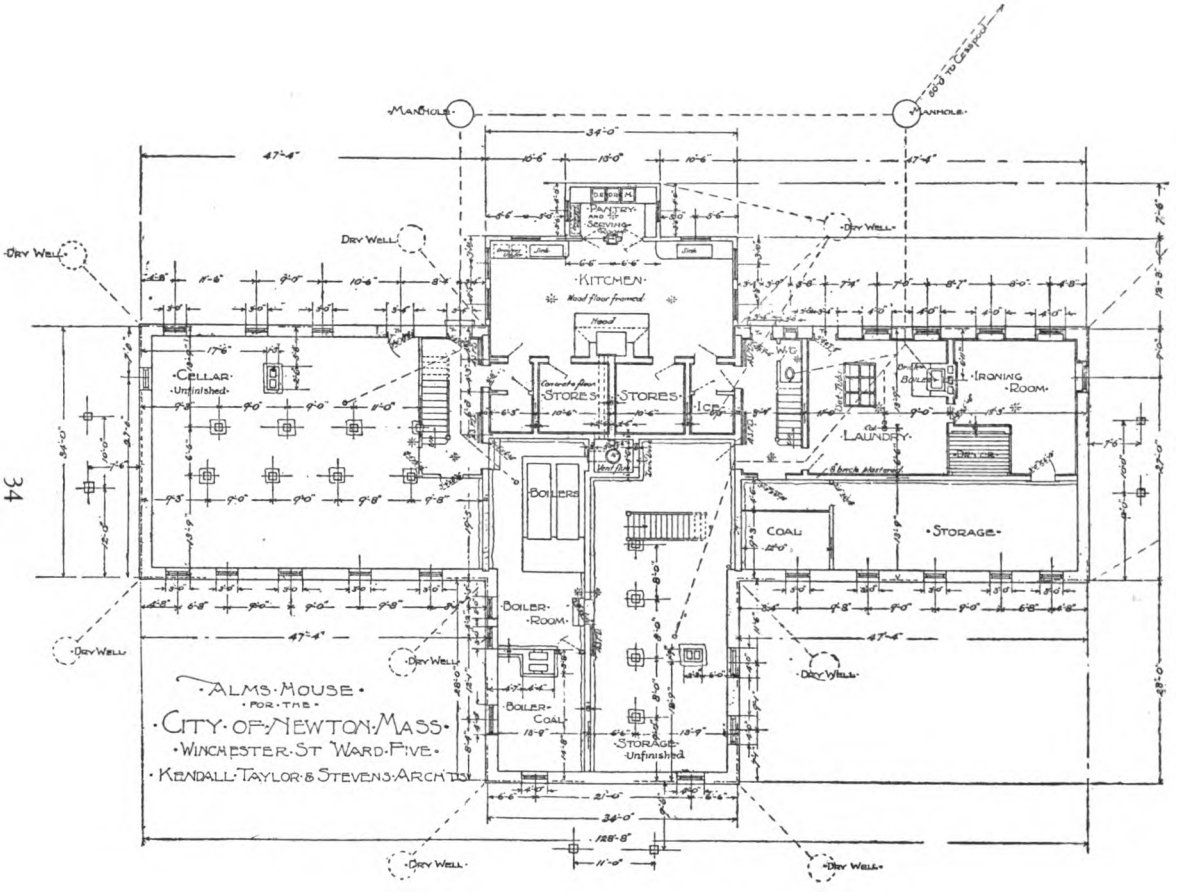
There is no better place to use the rain-water collected from the roofs than in the laundry. If proper care is taken, in most parts of the country during most of the year rain will give a sufficient supply. A little expense in connecting the soft water cisterns with the laundry may often be profitably incurred. If, however, it is necessary to use hard water for laundry purposes, some method of softening it *before* it is put into the tubs is desirable, otherwise the cost of the excessive quantity of soap needed is a serious item. The question of laundry soap is an important one. Institutions can profitably make their own soft



ALMSHOUSE, NEWTON, MASSACHUSETTS. FIRST FLOOR PLAN



ALMSHOUSE, NEWTON, MASSACHUSETTS. SECOND FLOOR PLAN



ALMSHOUSE, NEWTON, MASSACHUSETTS. BASEMENT PLAN

soap, provided that in doing it they use up refuse grease which otherwise would be wasted or sold at a low price; when they must buy all the materials the profit is doubtful.

CHAPEL OR HALL. *Religious Services.* In any almshouse where the population is too large to be gathered together, temporarily, in one of the sitting rooms, an assembly hall or chapel is necessary. A good place for this is a second story over the dining rooms. At one side of the hall a recess should be made in the wall which could be screened off by a curtain where the Roman Catholics should be invited to erect an altar. At another side a small platform should be built with a reading desk or table for the use of Protestant clergymen. In this hall religious services should be held every Sunday, which the ministers of the different denominations should be invited to conduct, and which should include a Catholic service at least once a month, or as much oftener as a priest can be obtained. Attendance should be optional with the inmates but they should always be encouraged to attend by the example of the superintendent and some, at least, of the employes.

If the almshouse is near a town ministers can usually be persuaded to come, especially if the superintendent, having first secured an invitation, will attend the ministers' meeting some Monday morning and prefer his request. If the almshouse is situated a mile or more in the country, a conveyance from the institution should fetch the

minister and take him back. The service, of course, should be held in the afternoon at a time to suit the convenience of the ministers or other speakers. If these conditions are met some city priests or ministers or some competent laymen can usually be secured to take turns in coming regularly.

In addition to its use for religious services the hall can properly be used for the evening entertainments spoken of in the section on Entertainments and Amusements.*

The ideal chapel would be a detached building of pleasing architecture, in the grounds, so constructed that the inmates could reach their seats without climbing stairs and to which they might be summoned by the tolling of a bell. This is perhaps only possible in the case of a large institution of, say, two hundred and fifty or more inmates.

BUILDING MATERIAL

In some states frame buildings for almshouses are held to be in every way satisfactory, it being claimed that they are as durable and safe as those of brick, and cheaper to build. In the West and Middle West, however, any but a brick, stone, or cement building is considered a cheap temporary makeshift, to be done away with as soon as possible.

Inside brick finish is often recommended for almshouse walls, and it has, no doubt, certain great advantages. When painted it is quite easily

* See Chapter IX, p. 136.

kept clean and it obviates the need of much of the usual inside wood trimming. It is, however, not much cheaper, if any, than a wall which is lathed and plastered on the inside, since the cost of laying bricks with struck joints, accurately pointed on both sides, is very much greater than that of the usual wall, pointed on one side only. Besides this, the appearance of the inside bricks is not pleasing, and it is difficult to make the box frames for windows and doors fit exactly, or to make the quarter rounds used on the sides tight enough to exclude air. Unless the brick wall is built hollow with an inside air chamber, it is colder than one built with the usual lath and plaster finish, and it is impossible to avoid the condensation of the atmospheric moisture, commonly called "sweating," on the outer-wall side of the rooms. The best wall for all purposes is one with a hard-plaster inside finish, either spread directly on the bricks, in which case the outside walls must be built with an air space in the middle, or upon metal laths attached to furring strips laid in the brick. If the latter plan is adopted and the work is well done, there is little danger of unsightly cracks.*

Foundation walls should be of stone, or if brick, a full course of stone or a layer of slate should be used above the surface of the ground to prevent dampness in the upper wall. Roofs should be of

* The writer's objection to inside brick finish is based upon over ten years' experience as superintendent of an institution wherein this finish was used.

slate, tile, or clay-shingles, slate being preferable, and probably the best and permanently the least costly material nearly everywhere. Modern metal roofs are a cheap, temporary device and should never be used. The lead or sheet copper roofs of former days were something quite different. Gutters and down spouts leading to good cisterns should catch and save all the rain-water. The best gutter is one laid in the slate; hanging gutters are frequently a cause of trouble, especially in winter.

It is desirable in planning an almshouse to use standard sizes for mill-work, doors, windows, etc. Especially should windows be standard, and in as few different sizes as possible so that glass for repairs may be bought by the box instead of a few panes at a time and at a much higher proportionate cost.*

FLOORS. The best material for the floors of halls and dining rooms is certainly good hard tile. For kitchens and domestic offices generally, where the wear is harder, and for lavatories where there is likely to be much splashing of water on the floors, good, well-laid and well-trowelled cement is probably the best material; while for day rooms and dormitories hard maple flooring is by far the best available. Hard yellow pine may be used, although it is not nearly so good as maple and

* At a recent state conference in Pennsylvania, Dr. A. J. Somers, Jr., of Blair County, told of an institution which had eighteen different sizes of glass in its windows, and not one of them a standard size.

is usually only a trifle, if any, cheaper. Soft pine floors are not suitable to public institutions, being fit for use only when covered with carpets, and carpets should not be used even in the private rooms of the officers or employes. Where the floors must be covered, only rugs that can easily be lifted and shaken should be permitted.

Maple flooring should be narrow faced, thoroughly dry, closely laid. The bottom of the baseboard into which the flooring should fit, should be a cove, making perfectly clean sweeping easy. Maple floors, however, must not be scrubbed, as they rapidly decay if not kept perfectly dry. The best as well as the most sanitary treatment of hard-wood floors is by the use of paraffin and linseed oil in the proportion of one pound of paraffin to one gallon of oil. To apply this dressing, the floor must be quite clean and perfectly dry, the paraffin and oil heated and put on with a brush, then rubbed down quickly before it chills. A preliminary coat of hot oil, well rubbed in and allowed to dry, may be used with advantage. The floor so treated must be lightly paraffined and polished daily after sweeping.* The work is quite simple, takes very little time, and can be done by inmates of the lowest mental capacity.

* Floor polishers may be made of a block of wood about 24 inches by 4 by 6—covered on the face with any kind of soft material, such as old wornout blankets, etc. The handle should be about 4½ feet long, attached by means of hinges to the block, so that the latter can rest flat upon the floor. Any man handy with tools can make such a polisher in a few minutes. It is far preferable to the brush sometimes sold for the purpose.

If the floor treated as above described becomes foul and needs other cleansing than the daily sweeping and polishing, as will occur perhaps once or twice a year, it should be scrubbed with strong lye until a new, clean surface of wood is obtained; then the treatment as above described renewed. Floors so treated are sanitary, present a good appearance, and are entirely free from the unwholesome "institution odor" which scrubbed floors always or nearly always give out, coming more than anything else from soapy water which soaks into the cracks and cannot be dried out. The surface of a scrubbed floor may appear exquisitely clean, but the filth lurks in the cracks and cannot be kept out of them. Filth, according to our modern ideas, means *germs*, and germs mean *disease*. The well polished floor is approximately germ proof.

HEATING

Some central system of heating is almost essential for an almshouse. The best system is without doubt by means of hot water, which has several advantages over steam. With hot water it is possible to heat the building moderately at the approach of cold weather. The heat is better diffused, the radiators never get hot enough to inflict serious accidental burns, and if the fire is allowed to go out, hot water pipes keep warm a great deal longer than steam pipes do. On the

other hand, steam radiators get hot more quickly than water pipes. In operation, steam is about as cheap, and it is decidedly cheaper at first installation because smaller pipes and less radiation are needed. If steam heat is used it should by all means be on a low pressure system. For a large institution the vacuum steam system is very economical. By this method all exhaust steam from machinery, steam kettles, etc. can be carried, below atmospheric pressure, to any distance, and the entire heating value of the steam be realized.

Heating by means of hot air from a furnace in the basement is often used in moderate sized buildings. This method, however, is not well suited to an almshouse and is only one remove better than stoves. If the system is properly installed and the furnace room kept scrupulously clean with a proper draft of outside air to the hot-air pipes, the plan does give good, fresh, warmed air in severe cold weather. The most frequent trouble with furnace heat comes from the fact that it is almost impossible to warm a house uniformly. Varying with the wind, the sides of the house will be unequally warmed, while the heat will go most freely to the part where it is least needed, the dormitories. They will be too hot, while the rooms on the first floor are too cold.

Steam radiators must be protected by wire screens, or made safe in some other way, in all rooms where defectives are present. Some very

serious accidents to epileptics and insane people have occurred through their coming in contact with uncovered steam pipes or radiators. All steam or hot water pipes should have some good heat-proof covering. This is a most necessary aid to economy. Steam-pipe covering is expensive and its application is sometimes deferred owing to this fact. When pipes must be left uncovered because of lack of money with which to buy the regular material, a temporary and effective substitute may be used. Corrugated paper, which is very cheap and almost non-inflammable, may be wrapped loosely around the pipes and held in its place by string. While this is not as good as the regular covering and should only be used in a temporary emergency, pipes so protected are very much better than bare pipes.*

In the sitting rooms an open grate fire is a pleasant addition to comfort and adds a homelike touch to the appearance of the rooms that nothing else can give. This is especially true in the case of a house in the country, and can usually be afforded by one that possesses a wood-lot.† In some climates the open fire is all the heat necessary, but in most parts of the country it must be regarded only as a pleasant addition, or perhaps as

* On a visit to Tewksbury, the State Almshouse of Massachusetts, in the fall of 1891, the writer saw some temporary covering of the kind above described, which Dr. C. Irving Fisher, the superintendent at that time, was using on some new construction, while waiting for an appropriation to buy the regular material.

† See page 13.

an economy early in the autumn, before it is necessary to do more than take the chill off the air. As a ventilator, the open hearth with a fire burning in it is worth almost all that it costs.

LIGHTING

Wherever possible, lighting should be by incandescent electric globes. If the wiring is done with care and according to the best modern methods, this is the safest, as well as the most sanitary system of lighting. It must also be remembered that if the wiring is done carelessly, or by an ignorant workman, electric wires may be a constant source of danger from fire.

Many almshouses of moderate size are now lighted by electricity, either from some central system, or generated on the premises by a small individual plant. In some cases, coal gas can be piped from a near-by station, and there are still places where natural gas is available for the purpose. If either natural or artificial gas is used it should be by the mantle system.

Acetylene gas is used with success in some almshouses, and certain methods of gasoline vapor-lighting are reasonably safe if properly installed. Almost any one of these systems is preferable to kerosene lamps. If, however, kerosene lamps must be used, certain very positive rules should be laid down and strictly enforced. The stock of kerosene should be kept outside the house, pref-

erably in a small shed some distance from any other building. The lamps should be cleaned and filled at a certain time and always by daylight, by some employe with whom it is a regular duty; they should never be carried from place to place while lighted, nor lighted at all by anyone but the person assigned to the duty.

VENTILATION

Whoever, at the on-coming of autumn, starts in to ventilate an almshouse by means of doors, windows, and transoms, has a job before him that will last all winter. Some systematic ventilation by means outside the control of the inmates is imperative.

It is probably because the general public does not demand pure air to breathe that architects so generally fail in their plans for ventilation. People seem to think that all that is necessary is to open a hole, even a very small one, and bad air will go out and good air come in. They seem to forget the fact that air will not move, any more than will coal or iron, without force to move it.

It is impracticable in this volume to go into the details of a system of ventilation, even were the writer competent to do so. He can only suggest that the architect should be admonished that so-called "natural ventilation," namely, that effected by doors, windows, transoms, and open grates, is never sufficient for an almshouse or for

any other institution, especially one for defectives; and that he be required to provide in the original plans for a thorough and complete ventilating system. Such a system can never be installed later after the house is once built.

CHAPTER IV

THE ADMINISTRATION

THE GOVERNING BOARD

UPON the governing board, the County Commissioners, or Board of Supervisors, or Overseers, etc., as they are called in various states, rests the final responsibility for the good administration of the almshouse. They cannot discharge this responsibility without giving a great deal of personal attention to the details of management. This implies more than merely a careful audit of the accounts with occasional visits during the monthly or quarterly sessions of the board at a time when they are expected. Frequent visits at irregular periods and careful inspection of every part of the institution are required and are always productive of good. On such visits the inmates should be seen, and, without inviting complaints, any one having a complaint to make should be courteously heard. The time to correct errors and remedy things that have gone wrong is at the beginning before they have gone far wrong.

The duties and responsibilities of the superintendent of an institution are numerous and heavy.

The members of the governing board can be of great help to their superintendent by frequent visits and intelligent counsel. He feels that they are equally interested with himself in the success of the administration to which they have appointed him, and when speaking to one of them, is sure of a sympathetic listener. Again, the more intimately the members of the board know the details of management the better equipped they will be to decide on the expenditure of money in matters of repairs and improvements.

In some states, where there are three commissioners in each county, it is usual to appoint one of the three as a special committee of one on the almshouse. This is usually the one who lives nearest the institution. In other places the duty is taken by the different members in rotation. Either plan may work well; the important point in this connection is that some one interested shall be in close touch with all that goes on and ready with a word of counsel and advice at the opportune moment.

The standard of administration in any public institution will be what the governing board insists upon or allows. It may be taken as axiomatic that good business management pays both in cash and in human well-being. Useless waste and extravagance are no better for the inmates than for the taxpayers. Sometimes it would seem as though the care and custody of the county's property is considered more important

than the care and custody, or the welfare, of the dependent inmates. But, usually, good care of the house goes with good care of the inmates. As has already been stated, we generally find the best business management in the most comfortable, cleanly, and orderly institutions, and a poorly managed, disorderly, and uncomfortable almshouse among the most costly.

THE SUPERINTENDENT

This officer should be chosen strictly on his merits and with entire disregard of politics. Perhaps no worse plan of choosing could be devised than to solicit bids and give the place to the lowest bidder.* Instead, the commissioners should fix the salary and find the best man they can get for the price. He should be paid a reasonable salary and have no personal or pecuniary interest in the crops, the live stock, or any property about the institution, except such as comes from the knowledge that if the institution is well managed his position will be a permanent one.

The qualifications needed for a superintendent are not very often united in one man. He should be a practical farmer and one who farms with brains, and not merely follows a routine of old custom. He must have fair business ability, strict integrity, good habits, even temper, a kind

* This was formerly practiced almost universally in more than one state.

heart, and a good reputation among his neighbors in the county.

The inmates of an almshouse are of various classes. Differing in intellectual capacity and personal habits, they yet tend to a common level of life and manners; if they are uncontrolled, this common level is more likely to be that of the lowest than of the highest among them. The efforts of the superintendent must, therefore, be constantly bent to the physical and moral improvement of those he has in charge.

It should never be forgotten that the responsibility for the moral tone of the almshouse, and to some extent for the actions of the inmates, rests upon the superintendent and upon the commissioners who appoint him. The disability of the chronic pauper is more of the mind than of the body. Weak in will, infirm of purpose, he will yield to firm control, especially the control of one who shows that he wishes him well, and that the regulations he makes are for the benefit of the inmates as much as for that of the managers. It may be objected that such a theory of management demands a man of more than ordinary character and sense of duty, and this must be granted. No superintendent who takes the place merely for the money there is in it will be permanently successful in management. Character is of greater consequence than ability as farmer or business man, and should be the first requirement exacted by the commissioners in their choice.

One of the most important duties of the superintendent is the division of the labor of the inmates. Often a few willing workers are taxed almost beyond their strength, while the majority spend their time in idle gossiping and petty quarrels. As far as possible each inmate should have some specified daily duty. Even the old and feeble should have some light task suited to their strength, and the able-bodied should be required to do a full day's work every day. This requires much intelligent thought on the part of the superintendent and matron, but if successfully done the improved tone of the institution will repay the effort.*

The appointments and dismissals and the control of his subordinates are among the superintendent's chief responsibilities. The governing board should decide on the number and compensation of the employes, but the superintendent should be given full authority over them, and they should feel that they keep their positions because they loyally and efficiently co-operate with him in his work. The superintendent must be held responsible for the actions of the employes, therefore he must have authority over them.† Otherwise discipline is impossible.

* For particulars of employment, see the section on Occupation and Labor, page 74.

† See Appendix V, page 163. Section 3 of the Indiana Law.

THE MATRON

As a general rule, especially in the smaller almshouses, the matron should be the wife of the superintendent. Her qualifications are as important as those of her husband. Occasionally we find a man competent to attend to domestic details in addition to carrying on the general management of the institution and the farm, but usually the comfort and order of the house depend upon the house-mother. The female inmates are her special charge and in small almshouses she must care for the sick. It is evident that a young mother with a group of little children of her own to care for, will have neither time nor strength for these duties. Usually, therefore, a married couple without children, or one whose children have grown up and started life for themselves, must be chosen.

It goes without saying that the matron must be a thoroughly competent housekeeper able to direct the inmates and the hired help in every detail of work. Usually a successful farmer's wife, accustomed to doing the woman's part on a farm, has the necessary knowledge and experience. But it is not enough to know how to do the work; the art of managing the labor of others, many of them far from competent, must also be possessed by a good matron. More domestic failures come from lack of this ability than from all other causes put together.

In large institutions it is practicable to divide

the labor of oversight into departments, each under a competent head. But in small ones the matron must direct the kitchen and the laundry, the dining and sick room, the clothing and storeroom, and the dairy. She must assign the employment of the female inmates and teach them how to work. The winter stock of preserved and canned provisions, perhaps also the salted and smoked meats, must be put up under her direction, and often also even the care of the chickens and younger live stock is regarded as within her province.

With all these many duties is the constant and never ending one of patient, kindly, and tactful treatment of inmates, employes and the occasional visitor. Successful administration depends more than anything else upon tactful management, avoidance of friction, and the removing beforehand of any cause of complaint.

THE SUBORDINATE EMPLOYES

The number and occupation of the subordinate employes will vary with the size and the methods of the almshouse. As a general rule it may be said that they should be of a higher grade, both intellectually and morally, than people engaged in similar work which is non-institutional. Like the superintendent, they must be chosen for their character and ability alone. The almshouse is no place for the payment of political debts, nor for

the shelter (except as inmates) of incompetents who have failed in ordinary business.

The subordinate employes should feel themselves to be the superintendent's assistants. They must not only be competent in their own departments, but they must have the ability to direct the labor of others, many of whom are among the least capable of their kind. What is said in the preceding page about the qualifications for the superintendent and matron applies to all employes. They must be of kindly and cheerful disposition and must possess a full share of tact. The most efficient employe, if of an irritable or over-quick temper, is out of place among feeble and defective people.

The salaries paid should be enough to attract competent help and to keep them. If they do their full duty their task is always onerous and often irksome. To expect faithful service in a disagreeable position from able persons of good character, and to offer them in return wages below, sometimes much below, those paid for less trying duties of a similar character outside the institution, is simply folly. Yet this is exactly what is being done in many large city almshouses, and the result is what might be rightfully expected—incompetent, perpetually changing help, and resulting discomfort to the inmates and waste to the city.

VISITORS AND INSPECTORS

In discussing location it was asserted that accessibility, both for the sake of economy of time and money in conveying new inmates and also for the convenience of visitors, was a proper consideration in choosing a site for an almshouse.

Visitors are of three classes. The first are the friends or relatives of the inmates. These should be welcomed at all proper times. It is usual and well to have certain days and hours for such visiting, although in case of sickness or other emergency, these should not be too strictly enforced. The second class consists of the citizens of the county who wish to see the institution because it is a part of the public service. As a general rule, citizens should be admitted quite freely and escorted through the building, but care should be exercised that the feeble or defective should not be made into a show for the gratification of idle curiosity. The third and most important visitors are those having some official connection with the public service: the county commissioners or the circuit judges; members of the county board of charities; inspectors of the state board of charities or the state board of health and others. Along with these and of equal importance are representatives of the press and members of charitable societies or committees, ministers of the various churches and other people who may

be assumed to take more than a general interest in the care of the poor.

When visitors of the third class appear, it is well for the superintendent or matron to escort them in person so that their various questions may be promptly and fully answered. They should be made to feel that their interest is appreciated and that their visits are desired. Courteous attention of this kind is very well bestowed, and even captious or frivolous criticism should be politely received and answered. The officials of the institution ought to feel ready at all times to give an account of their stewardship to the public whose servants they are.

Every public officer needs the support of a favorable public opinion. It should be his ambition to deserve it and his pleasure to show facts upon which it can be based. This does not mean that he is to minimize or conceal defects that are out of his power to remedy. He may be confident that the majority of the taxpayers desire public institutions to be properly conducted. If they believe the money they pay is honestly spent for the comfort of the poor they will not grudge the cost. If, however, they see evidence of neglect and avoidable suffering, they will be rightly dissatisfied.

There have been many cases in which the publicity given by the visits of influential citizens to some decaying or neglected institution has resulted in improvements which had been refused by the

authorities because they would cost the taxpayers some money. Often such publicity, with the help of the newspapers, is the only thing which can bring about reforms.

In this connection the superintendent ought to value and make the most of the visits of inspection made by the agents of the board of state charities, where these useful boards exist. These agents give their whole time to inspection and their eyes are trained to notice things that often are overlooked, even by people who see them every day. Their advice, if they can be induced to speak freely (which is not always possible), is often of great value. While they are not themselves administering institutions, they are familiar with the conditions of a great many of them and they can usually suggest some way of meeting almost any difficulty that may arise. Such visitors with the influence that they possess, can be and usually are, the best and most helpful friends of every public servant who is doing his duty. If they are met in the right spirit by the faithful official, their visits will not be dreaded nor disliked but will be welcome breaks in the monotony of institution life.

CHAPTER V

THE INMATES

CLASSES ADMITTED

A FEW years ago, almost everywhere, inmates of almshouses were, and in too many places they still are, a very heterogeneous mass, representing almost every kind of human distress. Old veterans of labor worn out by many years of ill-requited toil, alongside of worn out veterans of dissipation the victims of their own vices; the crippled and the sick; the insane; the blind; deaf mutes; feeble-minded and epileptic; people with all kinds of chronic diseases; unmarried mothers with their babies; short term prisoners; thieves, no longer physically capable of crime; worn out prostitutes, etc.; and along with all these, little orphaned or deserted children, and a few people of better birth and breeding reduced to poverty in old age by some financial disaster, often through no fault of their own.*

From this very heterogeneous mass, one class after another has been segregated. The segregation has rarely, if ever, been based on scientific

* See Appendix VI, page 171, The Function of the Almshouse.

principles or according to any systematic plan. Not that class which could be the most benefited, nor the one whose removal would most benefit the institution itself, has been the first to be taken away; but public interest has been aroused concerning some suffering people whose conditions have been seen to be extremely bad in the almshouse, and the result has been a new institution for this particular class. These specialized institutions have generally been conducted by the state, while almshouses in this country, with one or two exceptions, are conducted by counties, towns or cities. Hence has arisen a controversy in many places between the advocates of state care and the advocates of county care for different classes of defectives and dependents, and that opposition to centralization which is characteristic of a democratic form of government, has had something to do in hindering further institutional development.

During the course of years, in all progressive states, many of the various classes of people mentioned above have been removed to institutions specially equipped for them. For instance, it is now illegal in many states to allow a child between two and sixteen years of age to remain in an almshouse more than a few days or a few weeks. State care of the insane now largely prevails in theory, and in few places are violent and dangerous maniacs permitted in the almshouse. As a rule, the only blind and deaf persons now remaining are those who are very old. The

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feeble-minded are segregated in many states, although nowhere is the segregation of this class complete. The same is true in a less degree of the epileptic. It seems probable that in a few years the almshouse everywhere will really be what it is called in New York City, "The Home for the Aged and Infirm." This latter view is the one that prevails in the present volume. While some paragraphs are devoted to the care of certain of the other classes mentioned above, the assumption that they are not properly housed in the almshouse is always to be understood.

When all other classes have been segregated, the final and permanent class, the aged and infirm, is by no means a homogeneous one. Uniformity of economic condition, the fact that all are alike poor and dependent, does not make them alike socially, nor justify absolute uniformity of treatment; and the administration that does not distinguish between the victims of misfortune and the victims of vice, cannot be just to either class. To doom decent, honest, cleanly men and women to close association with diseased, vicious, and filthy persons, is as unfair as it is cruel.* It would be as reasonable to say that every sick patient in a hospital should be fed or nursed exactly like every other, as to insist that all almshouse inmates should be treated alike. The classification between male and female, or between adult

* See Chapter V and also Appendix VII, pages 181 and 193, describing the Social Classifications in English and Danish Poorhouses.

and juvenile, is not more necessary than that between the decent, cleanly poor, and the depraved and degraded pauper.

METHODS OF ADMISSION

The officer authorized to give the order of admission to the almshouse is usually the overseer of the poor of the township in which the applicant resides. In some states the justice of the peace has the same authority; occasionally we find admission is granted by the board of county commissioners, and in some places commitments are made by judges. Whoever gives the order it is in writing and is mandatory; *i. e.*, the superintendent has no choice, but must receive every one who comes with a legal order. Sometimes an inmate who has been dismissed for serious misconduct at once applies to the overseer of the poor for a new admission order, which he obtains, and presents, to the great embarrassment of the superintendent. On this and other accounts it is desirable that the superintendent establish a cordial understanding with the overseers of the poor, so that they may work in harmony. In case it should be necessary to dismiss an inmate for cause, the superintendent should at once notify the overseer of the township to which he belongs of the fact and the reason for it.

The necessity of convincing persons asking for admission that the institution has rules which they must obey, has induced some superintendents to

interest overseers in a form of admission which should leave no doubt in the mind of the inmate as to what is expected of him. The following is an admission form that has been extensively used:

May 1, 1911

To the Superintendent of the Almshouse
County of Washington

You are hereby directed to admit *John Doe* from Center township as an inmate of your institution and to keep him there so long as he is obedient to its rules and regulations. It is understood and agreed that so long as he continues an inmate of the Institution he will cheerfully perform any labor within his ability that shall be assigned to him.

Signed, *Richard Roe,*
Overseer of the Poor, Center Township

ADMISSION OF UNFIT PERSONS*

The admission of persons not properly within the care of an almshouse is something that must be guarded against. Sometimes admission of people who have sufficient means of support is secured by undue influence of various kinds—political, friendly, occasionally even sectarian. Quite frequently old people will be brought in who have sons or daughters well able financially to care for them, and who are legally bound to do so. It is evidently an imposition on the taxpayer to support such persons at public expense.

In some states the county authorities are in the

* See Appendix VI, page 171, The Function of the Almshouse.

habit of receiving persons who have some means of their own or whose children can support them, and of collecting a moderate sum for their board. A few years ago, with a view to compelling those responsible (and able) to contribute to their support, an investigation was made of the inmates of the county almshouse and the county hospital for the insane in Hudson County, New Jersey. One week's work resulted in guarantees of $2,600 per annum from relatives towards maintenance.*

It is obvious from the nature of an almshouse that it is not and should not be considered a place of punishment. Yet in some places we find judges committing short-term prisoners to it and a similar practice once prevailed and still exists in some states in regard to disorderly persons.† This is due to sentiments of humanity on the part of the judge, who feels that the jail is an unfit place and that there is no fit place available.

The first distinction that we make in considering those for whom the public must care, is between dependents and delinquents. To complicate the care of the aged and infirm poor with that of

* See Proceedings of National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1906, p. 47.

† See Appendix VIII, p. 198, County Houses of Correction in New Hampshire. A statute of Pennsylvania fixes a penalty for vagrancy as "Commitment to labor upon any *County farm*, or upon the roads and highways of any city, county, township, or borough, or in any house of correction, *poorhouse*, workhouse, or common jail, for a term not less than thirty days and not exceeding six months."

short-term prisoners or disorderly persons is an exceedingly unfortunate arrangement. Until the methods of our almshouses and the laws governing them shall be radically changed so as to insure restraint and employment, as is done in the Danish Workhouse mentioned in Appendix VII, page 193, we shall not be able to hold people against their will. When tramps are received they may be regarded as delinquents by those who send them, but in admitting and feeding them the superintendent is extending public relief.

Besides persons with support, either actual or potential, and delinquents, there are many others often sent to almshouses who should be otherwise provided for. Among these are the insane, epileptic, and feeble-minded, and children both defective and normal. While most states now care for the violently insane in state or county hospitals, there are and probably will long be, many of the chronic and harmless of this class in almshouses. In the chapter on Defectives, some instances of the kind are given.*

Epileptics in a few states are now provided for in special state institutions. It seems probable that many more communities will follow the example. But no state has so far provided for all of even the dependent epileptics, and many of them are certain for a long time to be necessarily sheltered in almshouses.

With the exception of the senile, the feeble-

* See Chapter VIII, p. 126.

minded constitute perhaps the largest single class of the almshouse population. The possibility of the state taking charge of all of them seems still remote, and many of the men, and the women who are above child-bearing age, may be cared for in this institution with little danger of evil consequences. Among this class are often found the best working inmates. The feeble-minded children, on the contrary, should by all means be sent to a state school where they may be educated for at least partial self-support. The same is emphatically true of the deaf and blind; dependent adults may be allowed in the almshouse, children never.

The laws of all progressive states now prohibit the presence of normal children in almshouses. If there is an infallible evidence of backwardness in a commonwealth, the permitting its normal children to be trained in pauperism—which is what being brought up in an almshouse means—is such evidence. In states where this is still legal the aim of the superintendent when children are sent in should be to get them into good homes just as soon as possible.

Cases of sickness are treated in another chapter.* No general rule can be laid down for them, and the condition of the particular almshouse must also be considered; where this has become indeed the county hospital,† it is an appropriate place to take

* Chapter VII, page 117.

† See Appendix III, page 158, County Hospitals.

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a case of serious illness. If, however, the hospital department is poorly equipped and the nursing is untrained, those who are seriously ill should, if possible, be cared for elsewhere.

CLASSIFICATION

No one part of almshouse administration has more to do with order and comfort than the proper classification of the inmates. This is difficult in a very small institution, and it is in a certain sense not so necessary, except as to the separation of the sexes, since the matron comes into immediate relation with every individual inmate. As soon as the number increases so as to make such individualization impossible, the necessity of strict classification arises.

The first and most obvious division is of the sexes. It is impossible to be too strict in this. The separation should be absolute and constant. It means not merely separate dormitories and day rooms, but separate dining rooms and recreation yards.

Even when the inmates present are quite old people the separation must be complete, for new inmates may be admitted at any time for whom the precautions are imperative. The rule, therefore, should be a permanent one. It should be impossible for men and women to make a harmful acquaintance which, though safeguarded in the institution, can be continued outside if the inmates

choose to leave.* Cases have been known of a man and a woman leaving simultaneously, and after a few days' debauch successfully gaining re-admittance, with the result of the birth of a child in the almshouse in due process of time. The only exception to the separation of sexes should be in the case of old married couples. For them a special department should be arranged, all the better if it is outside the main building.

If sex separation is necessary with the normal inmates, it is pre-eminently so with the feeble-minded. The treatment of feeble-minded women in almshouses forms one of the worst chapters in the history of institution mismanagement. In a few states the beginnings of proper control of the feeble-minded women of child-bearing age, by means of a state institution, have been made. In none, however, is that control complete, and there are many almshouses in the land where there may be found idiotic or imbecile women with illegitimate children, often both begotten and born there.†

In almshouses almost everywhere, and notably in the small rural communities, much of the population will be constant for many years. Permanent inmates are entitled to a great deal of very kindly consideration. Many of them are decent persons whose old age dependency is due to no fault of

* See section on Sex Relations in the large English workhouses, Appendix I, page 141.

† See Appendix IX, page 201, Imbeciles in Almshouses.

their own, or at worst to a lack of thrift; sometimes it is the result of too much generosity. For such people everything possible should be done to make the almshouse really a "home for the aged and infirm," and they should especially be spared association with the unruly or vicious. An admirable method for the housing of the better classes of inmates is to provide small cottages of one or two rooms, detached from the main building, in which an old married couple or two old people of the same sex may live together. This plan has been adopted to a small extent in England,* and also in a few places in this country, with excellent results.

The writer, many years ago, saw an example of cottage homes in Hamilton County, Indiana. At the rear of the main building across a grass plot, was a row of small frame cottages of one room each. In front of them was a long porch, its pillars covered with climbing roses and morning glories. Each little shanty, for they were nothing more, was occupied by two old men or two old women, or an old married couple. Abundant natural gas, found on the farm, made the matter of heating and lighting simple. Each cottage had a small cook stove which served also to heat the apartment. The walls were whitewashed. The furniture in most of them had been brought from a former home, and so each room looked quite different from every other. At the end of the row

* See Appendix VII, page 183.

lived an old physician, once quite well off, with a practice at the county seat, and his wife, reduced to poverty at the ages of eighty and seventy-five by accident and other misfortunes. They had their own featherbed, bureau and chairs, a good library of books, and a few pictures. They made their own breakfast and supper, sometimes going over to the "brick house" for dinner, sometimes not. They were devoutly thankful, since they had to end their days in the almshouse, that their lot had fallen so as to include even a one-room cottage which they might have to themselves.

The superintendent of that almshouse said that when there was a vacant place in one of the six shanties the other inmates competed for the privilege of occupying it. To move into it, however, was a reward of merit, and the best behaved, most cleanly inmates were chosen to receive the favor.

A very similar plan to the above, except that it was deliberately adopted and the cottages were built and equipped for the purpose, is to be found in certain English almshouses (workhouses). In one of these, all the inmates are divided into four classes and their treatment varies accordingly. The classifications are based on the owner's past life, rather than upon his present character and habits, although these are taken into account and may in some instances lead to a re-classification.*

It will be gravely questioned whether a rigid classification of the kind would be suitable to our

* See section on Cottage Homes in Appendix VII, page 183.

American ideas of equality. Yet there is no doubt that such a modified division into classes as is suggested by the above account of what was done in Hamilton County, Indiana, might be properly adopted. In fact, something of the kind is practiced in many of the smaller almshouses.

While it is not often practicable to lodge the better grade of inmates in individual cottages, since these are not to be found, it is quite feasible to group them together at the tables in the dining room, to have different sitting rooms and assign places to them there, and in other ways relieve them of the affliction of uncongenial and coarse or vicious association.

Precise methods of affecting social classification cannot be given here. The important thing is to have the justice as well as the kindness of the method pointed out, and then the management of each institution can work out the details for its own people according to their several needs.*

RULES

Many zealous superintendents, especially newly appointed ones, anxious to develop an improved administration, make the mistake of enacting and printing a long and elaborate code of rules for the government of an almshouse. In general it may

* See Appendix VII, p. 181, extract from the British Royal Commission Report; also paper on the Firvale Union Cottage Homes, by Mrs. Alice N. Lincoln of Boston, p. 183.

be maintained that the shortest code is the best code.* The late Dr. Richard Gundry, superintendent of the Maryland Hospital for the Insane, used to declare that the one, all-sufficient rule of an institution was the apostolic maxim, "Let everything be done decently and in order," but this would appear to be carrying brevity to an extreme.

A few general rules in regard to remaining on the premises; hours of rising, retiring, and meals; bathing and cleanliness of person, of clothing, and of premises; labor, indoor and outdoor; proper use of rooms, at proper hours; smoking and spitting; may wisely be adopted and posted in one or two places in the halls and sitting rooms.

In most almshouses inmates will be found of such varying classes and degrees of health and vigor that it is difficult to make rules of universal application. It is well, therefore, to frame them so as to allow, or call for, decisions by the superintendent. For example, the rule as to going to bed may be stated: "The inmates will retire and rise at such hours as may be ordered by the Superintendent, in accordance with their physical condition and their employment." The rule about work may read: "Every inmate will be expected to do the work assigned for him or her, by the Superintendent or his assistants, the work assigned to be appropriate to the inmate's physical and mental condition."

* See remarks on enforcing rules, in Advice to a Superintendent, Appendix X, page 215.

The rule about leaving the premises: "No inmate may leave the premises temporarily without permission from the Superintendent. Leaving without permission is regarded as taking a discharge and the person cannot be re-admitted without a new order from the Overseer or other officer having authority to admit." The rule as to smoking depends upon whether a special smoking room is provided, and might read: "No person is allowed to smoke on the premises, except in the room provided for the purpose, or outside the house, but not within 100 feet of the barn or stable." The rule as to bathing: "Every inmate shall take a full bath at the hour appointed by the Superintendent or Matron, but not less often than once a week." Similar rules may be enacted to cover other points of management; and as a law without a penalty is of little value, a final rule of the code might read: "It is the duty of the Superintendent to control the institution and to maintain good order and proper conduct throughout. He is responsible for the observance of the above rules and also of such other directions as he may find necessary to give from time to time. Inmates refusing obedience may be punished by temporary deprivations (except of the necessaries of life), or by temporary seclusion, or otherwise, in the judgment of the Superintendent. Any inmate showing violence to another inmate or gross disrespect to the Superintendent or his assistants, shall be liable to be secluded or discharged."

Any code of rules which is adopted should be carefully considered by the governing board (the county commissioners or board of supervisors, as the case may be), and when adopted should be signed by the board, as well as by the superintendent, and a statement to that effect should be printed below the rules. The statement might read as follows:

"The above code of rules for the Washington County (or town) Almshouse has been read and approved by the undersigned

(Signed by each member) Richard Roe
John Doe
Abraham Manson

Board of Commissioners, Washington County, Dated May 1, 1911.

DISCIPLINE

In considering the necessity of good order it must always be remembered that it is much easier to adapt the almshouse to the ideas of the paupers than to adapt the paupers to the standards that an almshouse ought to maintain. Hence the value of good discipline, which does not mean severity, but does mean comfort, order, and serenity for administration and inmates.

For gross insubordination or for any other misbehavior which threatens the good order of the institution and the comfort of the inmates, discharge, after sufficient warning and the failure of milder methods, should be the penalty. This does

not apply to the insane or feeble-minded who, no matter what happens, must be otherwise controlled.

The only punishment which ought ever to be inflicted in an almshouse is a temporary deprivation of some privilege,* or of some of the less necessary portion of the dietary (in no case should the traditionary "bread and water" diet be imposed), or by temporary seclusion under lock and key. Every case of discipline of the kind should be entered on the daily journal, with the particulars of the offense and the names of witnesses who may be called if necessary. This record should be read and the case looked into, if it appears necessary, by the commissioner or supervisor who has special charge of the almshouse, at his next visit, and his approval or disapproval should be written in ink on the face of the record and signed. In states having boards of state charities the daily journal should always be submitted to the inspector of that board at the time of his annual visit, or on his request, at any time.

COMPLAINTS

In all institutions, no matter how well conducted, where inmates are feeble, old, or defective,

* It is practically impossible to prevent the use of tobacco in an almshouse, and to deprive people who have been accustomed to using it for many years is severe if not cruel. Consequently, many superintendents make an effective means of discipline out of their inmates' weakness in this direction, giving it as a reward or refusing it as a punishment.

a certain amount of complaint is normal and to be expected. To listen to such complaints with kindness and courtesy, and a degree of sympathy; to correct any error, no matter how slight; to explain the impossibility of consenting to unreasonable requests, and to grant all that are reasonable, is a part of the business of the institution, devolving first upon the superintendent and, second, upon the governing board. A little time and effort so used is very well spent, and must not in any case be considered a reflection upon the administration. There are two possible conditions as to complaints where grave mismanagement is to be feared; namely, when there is a great deal of complaint and when there is none at all. The latter case is almost certain evidence of a rule of fear, which is much to be deplored.

Any inmate, therefore, wishing to complain of his treatment should be freely allowed to do so, and the governing board should most strictly reprehend any attempt by a superintendent to prevent an inmate's making a complaint, no matter how ill-founded or frivolous it may be.

OCCUPATION AND LABOR

There is no more important part of almshouse administration than the employment of the inmates. While their labor in many cases has little cash value, it is none the less valuable for other reasons.

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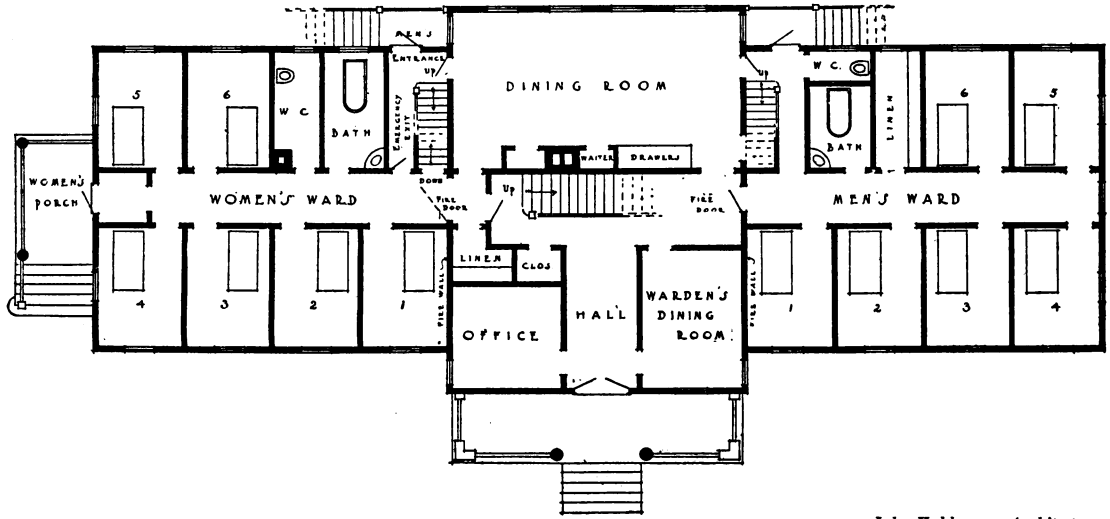
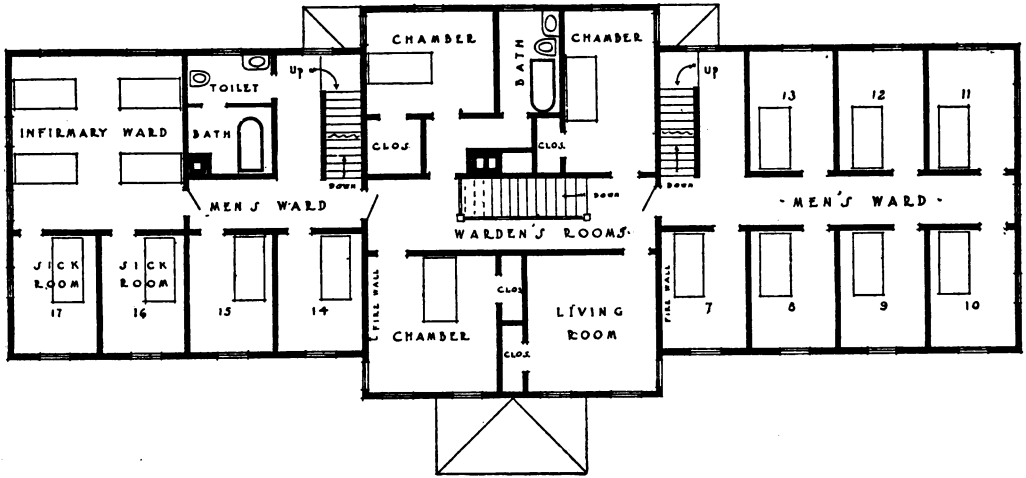
It may be stated as a rule to which there is no exception that every inmate, except the bed-ridden ones, should have some employment during a part of every day, and the more fully the usual working hours are occupied the better.* All able-bodied inmates who are not violently insane should be given a full day's work daily in the house or outdoors. Usually the men are employed on the farm, in the garden, barn, and stable, the roads, and at the fences. Women work in the kitchen, laundry, sewing room, etc. There are, however, certain outdoor occupations which are admirably suited for women. Among these may be mentioned the finer parts of kitchen gardening, such as weeding, hoeing, setting out plants; care of the flower garden in general; small fruit culture; the care of chickens and young live stock. While the majority of women inmates prefer the domestic tasks of the house, a few will occasionally be found who are much happier as well as healthier when given outdoor labor suited to their strength; and conversely, among the defective men in the almshouse will often be found some who will do the domestic much better than the outdoor work. The hardest work of the laundry, especially if machinery is used, should be done by men, not by

* Certain persons who seek the almshouse as a place of ease where they may live well without work, when they find they have to work regularly, obey rules, and practice personal cleanliness, will not remain. Of course such people should not be given admission in the first instance, but, especially in severe weather, an overseer of the poor inclines to err, if at all, on the side of mercy, and will usually give an applicant concerning whom he is uncertain, the benefit of the doubt.

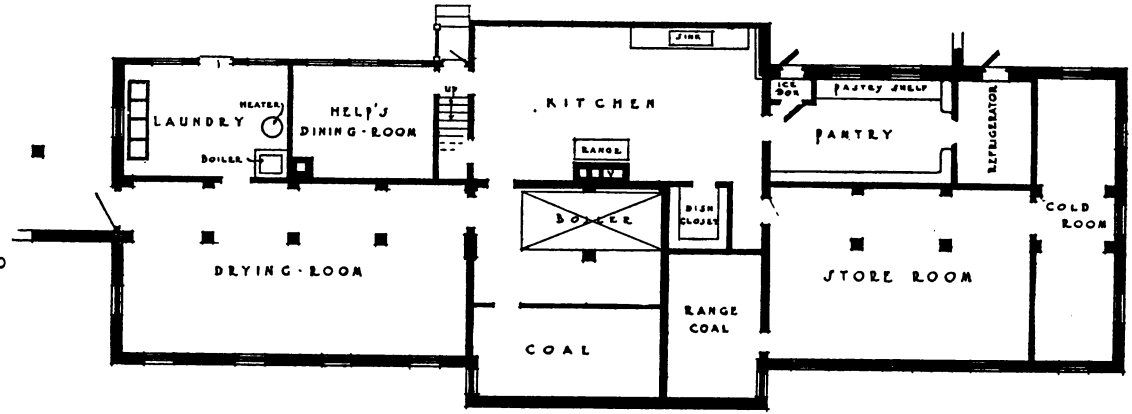


FIRST FLOOR PLAN, ALMSHOUSE, NATICK, MASSACHUSETTS

John Kahlmeyer, Architect.



SECOND FLOOR PLAN, ALMSHOUSE, NATICK, MASSACHUSETTS



MODIFIED BASEMENT PLAN, ALMSHOUSE, NATICK, MASSACHUSETTS

women. All the care of the men's dormitories and day rooms should be taken by the men themselves. Occasionally men are found who like to sew and knit.

In assigning tasks it is well, as far as possible, to make them regular and permanent. To cut and sew carpet rags is within the power of many an old woman who might perhaps be able to do nothing else, and if this is assigned to her as a regular duty and some account is taken of what she does and some credit given her, it will conduce to her satisfaction. Several cases from a Massachusetts almshouse will illustrate this point. An old woman of ninety who cannot stand to wash dishes, sits and wipes them. This is her task three times daily. She does it cheerfully and feels that she is doing her share and is much happier for it. A crippled man who is unable to walk, or even stand, whittles out butchers' skewers which are sold for a trifle for his benefit. A partly crippled feeble-minded man divides his time between the lawn and the greenhouse. In summer he very slowly, but regularly, runs the lawn mower; in winter he sits in the greenhouse and watches the thermometer, giving prompt notice when it goes too high or too low.

Of course the routine domestic work of the house, and the work of the farm and the garden, feeding the stock, etc., must be provided for, and can usually all be assigned as regular tasks to specially appointed inmates. This will occupy a fair pro-

portion of the inmates' time; but in most almshouses there will be a good deal of other labor available which must be employed. Rag carpets, pieced quilts, mats, basket work and a great many other manual occupations are available. Some most astonishing results have been attained with insane people, whose violence has been moderated and who have been made comparatively easy to manage after they have been taught an occupation like basketry or embroidery and allowed to practice it. No one should be neglected in the matter of assigning occupation, because of mental or bodily defect.*

If it is not feasible to hire an assistant as a permanent member of the staff who is competent to teach the inmates these various occupations, it is nearly always possible to engage an instructor for a period of a few weeks, during which period she can teach the inmates and also instruct one of the employes who can act as teacher for a short time each day after the manual instructor has gone.

The advantage of regular work for everybody in the institution is out of all proportion to the cash value of the work itself. Yet some of the inmates of the almshouse, with the right kind of oversight and control, can be made to fully earn their own support. It is fair to use any reasonable means to induce such inmates to exert themselves and to do as much as is possible, consistent with their health. A little experience will show a

* See Appendix XI, page 219, Occupations for Defectives.

superintendent who is in earnest about this important department of administration, how to manage each person in order to get the best results. It is rare, indeed, that the method of driving will be effective, but kindly leading will seldom fail. There is absolutely no excuse for the conditions which exist in some of the large almshouses in which one may see hundreds of partly able-bodied men and women, sitting in dull, hopeless idleness, a burden to themselves as they are to the taxpayer.

THE BATH AND PERSONAL CLEANLINESS

People habituated to the comfort of a clean skin may be surprised to learn that one of the things most difficult to enforce in an almshouse is a reasonable amount of bathing.* It is at once apparent that the necessity of the bath is even greater in an institution where many people live close together than it is in houses where few people live. At the same time it is only by very positive regulations, and firmness in enforcing them, that personal cleanliness can be maintained.

It is necessary that the accommodations for bathing should be ample and convenient. When the bathtub, as sometimes happens, is stuck off in some dark, awkward corner, or perhaps in an

* See Appendix XII, page 221, giving an account of an actual instance which occurred in a county almshouse in a central western state.

outhouse detached from the main building; when water must be heated on a stove, and carried in buckets to the bathtub and emptied in the same laborious manner, it is no wonder that the superintendent has difficulty in enforcing the regular full bath.* The bathroom should by all means be on the dormitory floor, and open off the bedroom if possible, in which case, however, there should be another door into the hall or passageway. The inmates should be allowed as far as possible to bathe in the evening before retiring. It is a good plan to let them undress in the bathroom, leaving their soiled underwear there and receiving their clean nightgowns; also to make the changes of bedding the same night. Even in a large institution with many inmates and only a moderate number of bathtubs, this can be done by assigning certain persons stated evenings for their baths, so that a third or a fourth part of the whole population will be bathed upon any one bathing night. This method lessens the strain on the hot-water equipment by dividing it.

To bathe more than one inmate in the same water is an unsanitary and abominable practice, and no exigency should be allowed to justify it. Better give each man his clean four gallons in a bucket than bathe four men in the same sixteen or twenty gallons in a bathtub.

The question of the use of tub baths or showers is frequently raised. There are advantages in

* See Chapter VI, Management, p. 113.

both systems. The shower bath is decidedly the most sanitary. It is difficult to insure sufficient care in cleansing the bathtub after one person uses it and before the next. On the other hand, the difficulty of mixing the hot and cold water for a warm shower, without an expensive apparatus, is quite serious. There is one very simple method, however, which can easily be adopted. That is by having the supply to the shower sufficient for one or two persons, come from a small tank placed immediately above it. Let this tank be connected with both hot and cold water and the mixing done for each bather, or for each two or three bathers, and then the supply to the tank shut off. Another advantage of the shower bath is that it takes less water and less equipment for the same amount of service. For old and feeble people and, usually speaking, for any who must be bathed by an attendant, of course the tub bath is preferable. In most institutions tub baths are preferred for women and showers for men, but there is really very little reason for this difference.

The daily attention to personal cleanliness is as important as the weekly full bath. The inmates should be expected to wash hands and arms, faces, ears, and necks every morning before breakfast and every evening before retiring; and their hands before meals. Brushes and combs should be provided and their use enforced. Shoes should be brushed and blackened. The self-respect that comes with personal cleanliness and neatness is of

even greater value than the physical effect. As said in the section on methods in the dining room, that room is the most available place to insist upon these decent and sanitary requirements.

CHAPTER VI

MANAGEMENT

INSTITUTION RECORDS

THE IN AND OUT BOOK, OR REGISTER OF ADMISSIONS AND DISCHARGES. This should be kept in a permanent book ruled in columns and with wide pages so that each entry can be, as far as possible, on one line. It should show for each person received, admission number, name (with surname first), date of admission, township from which inmate comes, name of admitting officer, age, conjugal condition (i. e. single, married, widowed, or divorced); brief description (color of eyes, hair, etc., height and weight); physical condition (fitness for labor, able-bodied, crippled, feeble); mental condition (sound mind, feeble-minded, epileptic, insane); date of previous admittance, if any known; and remarks. In the "remarks" column should be entered any useful item of family history, especially if a relative has been an inmate at any time or is so at present. The column should be wide enough to give places for entries of leave of absence granted, sickness, and other important items, which may be copied into the record from the daily journal.

In beginning such an admission record in an almshouse where it has not previously been kept, the best plan is to enter in alphabetical order, inmates present when the record begins, giving the date of the commencement of the record, and numbering them in the same order. All subsequent admissions must be entered in numerical order, not alphabetically. In the case of a large institution an alphabetical card index will be found a very useful addition to this record. If the institution contains many inmates it is economy of labor and time to let the In and Out Book show simply the name and number, and date of reception and discharge, and to keep all the particulars upon a card catalog, one card for each inmate. This is best kept in alphabetical order, in a proper file, with appropriate places for the cards of those dismissed, and those absent on leave. The cards in the file then always show the exact number present in the institution.*

The advantages of the card system of record are many and obvious. It is the quickest and most elastic system; the cards never require re-writing. Properly kept it is always in good order, and lends itself to any desired amount of detail. It has one disadvantage as compared with the book system, however, which is the necessity of having the cards always in perfect order. A name in a book, out of proper order, will be noticed in looking

* In Appendix XVIII, p. 244, will be found specimens of both book and card records of the kinds described.

over the record, or can readily be found, but a card out of its place is practically lost.

It is proper to preserve the admission orders the inmates bring in, as necessity often arises for referring to them. The simplest and safest way is to paste them in a scrap book in their order of date, doing this as soon as the inmate's name is entered on the In and Out Book.

THE DAILY JOURNAL. Besides the register of admissions and discharges, a well-conducted almshouse will keep a daily journal in a separate book. Here should be entered every important event that occurs. Especially important are the entries of sickness of inmates, the time of the first complaint, the day and hour when the doctor is notified to call (if he does not make a daily medical visit, or if the occasion seems to require a special one), and the hour of his arrival. In minor cases where simple home remedies are administered, the daily journal should show the fact. Visits by friends of inmates, by public officials, etc., should appear on the daily journal. If the superintendent, or one of the employes, leaves the premises to be gone over night, the hour of leaving and return should be entered, also leave of absence of an inmate, and the day and hour of his return.

In this book will be found the record of farming and gardening operations; such as, the date of commencing to plow for wheat or corn, the completion of the plowing, date of seeding, etc., weather conditions about harvest time, and date

of thrashing; also the yield of the grain field and potato crop, number of winter cabbages pitted and of barrels of sour kraut made, the daily yield of the garden and dairy, the quantity of butter at each tri-weekly churning, the butchering of hogs, with the number killed and the weight, and other items of farm results.

Other entries will include the employment of assistants, with the wages to be paid, time of beginning work and date of discharge, if it occurs; any extra help hired temporarily, and the amount of compensation. This journal should show details of all cash transactions of any kind; if any sales are made, the name of the person making the purchase, the date and amount of money received and the date when this was turned over to the county auditor or treasurer.

If the journal is entered up every day it furnishes an invaluable record in case of trouble of any kind. A journal which bears evidence of daily use will usually be accepted in a court of law as evidence of the facts stated. To have this value it must be used regularly. The important thing is not neatness, nor good penmanship, but regularity of daily entries. Like the counter-book of the grocery, with its hasty entries at the time of selling, in case of a disputed account this is of much more service in court than the ledger which is written up later. It has the value of an original record.

PURCHASE OF SUPPLIES

For all except the very smallest almshouses, supplies should be purchased upon public competitive bids. It is probably true that a thoroughly competent steward, knowing the markets and well-informed as to values of every kind, taking advantage of every bargain that might be offered, could buy supplies as they are needed as cheaply, or even more cheaply, than they can be purchased by competitive bids.* Such stewards will not often, however, be found in the employ of the county almshouse. Usually a superintendent must himself act as steward and he will certainly be too busy to watch the markets very closely. The advantages of public competition are, moreover, so great as to more than overbalance any slight gain of immediate cheapness. The competitive method is the best safeguard against collusion and also against unjust aspersion. While it does not offer the advantages of special bargains, it does, properly conducted, insure all goods being bought at a regular, fair price.

In competitive purchasing for goods to be delivered as needed, the best results are gained by short time contracts. The longer time the contract has to run, the more chance there is of a rising market, against which the bidder must provide in his price. On the other hand, the contract must

* See method of purchase of supplies, and sample requisition in Appendices V and XIII, pp. 163 and 223.

be for a reasonably large amount to be attractive to the larger dealers, therefore the amounts specified should be as large as are economically advisable.

In buying flour, sugar, coffee, soap, domestic dry goods and other goods of which there is no loss by keeping, it is well to purchase and store a year's supply at one time. Certain of these articles, as, for example, green coffee and soap, improve in storage. A year's supply will appeal to the wholesalers and good prices will be made. For coal also it is well to contract yearly, even though the storage capacity is limited and deliveries must be had monthly or quarterly. Milk, where this is not produced in the institution's own dairy, should be purchased on yearly contracts so as to justify the contract dairyman in increasing his herd when necessary.

For many other goods quarterly contracts are better. This is especially true of meats of all kinds and, for an institution of one hundred inmates or less, for butter and eggs. For larger institutions, contracts for perishable things like butter and eggs should be made monthly and deliveries had weekly or as required.

In all cases contracts should be awarded on a regular day, usually the second or third day of the meeting of commissioners or supervisors, as the case may be. The specifications should always be ready two weeks in advance and should be open to inspection in some conspicuous place to all

prospective bidders and other interested persons. Advertisements should appear in one or two widely circulated newspapers that specifications may be seen and forms for bids obtained at the court house in the office of the auditor or some other public official. The management should require the bids to be upon printed forms furnished by them, and the terms and conditions should be plainly printed at the head of the form.* The commissioners should carefully avoid binding themselves to accept the lowest or any tender. It is also highly advisable to accept bids by items and not in block. It is usually necessary to ask for bids on a specified amount, less or more, as may be necessary; otherwise there will always be the danger of running short before the end of the term which the supply should cover, so necessitating purchase at a probably higher price. When bids are accepted in block with this proviso it is a very simple matter to organize a collusion between the store keeper or steward and the dealer, by which an apparently lower contract will turn out to be really higher than some others which were apparently higher in the first instance.

There are several dangers to be guarded against in purchasing on competitive bids. The first and most common is that of merchants delivering goods of a lower quality than the contract calls for. This is to be met by, first, as far as possible calling for goods of unmistakable standard make and quality,

* See Appendix XIII, page 223.

and, second, by constant watchfulness on the part of the officer who receives the articles. Another is that of collusion between the merchant and store keeper or steward of the institution when contracts are awarded in block, above alluded to, by which the specifications are made to call for a smaller quantity of certain goods and a larger quantity of other goods than will be actually required. Correct information being given by the almshouse store keeper to the merchant, as to the actual quantities which will be required, enables the latter to bid a higher price on the one and a lower price on the other, thus really increasing the cost of the articles when actually purchased. This danger is obviated when all awards are made by items. Another kind of collusion may arise through an understanding between important bidders, so that there will be no real competition. This must be guarded against by watchfulness and a proviso that the purchasing board or committee does not bind itself to accept any bid; and then, when all bids on a certain article are apparently too high, by instructing the steward or superintendent to buy at the best price he can obtain in the open market, provided that that is not higher than the lowest bid received.

The best safeguard of the competitive system, however, is that of publicity. Every bid, both those accepted and those rejected, should be on file and easily accessible for inspection by any interested person. When this is done and the institution

has established its reputation for being desirous of buying the best goods at the lowest prices, without favoritism to any one, merchants promptly fall into line and deal with it on honorable business principles. The popular satisfaction that arises as soon as this is generally understood is an extremely valuable asset to the administration.

The way to get a competitive system of purchase known and popular is by the help of the press. As soon as it is established the newspapers should be asked to send reporters to watch its operation. They should also be invited to inspect the accepted and rejected bids on file at any time they wish, and when they accept this invitation no questions should be asked as to the object of their inspection; the bids should be immediately shown to them on request.

The method of purchase advocated above may seem a little complicated at first to people who are not accustomed to business methods, but a very little experience will soon do away with all the apparent difficulty, and no honest administration which has conducted this part of its business upon the competitive plan for a few months will ever desire to go back to the old-fashioned method of purchase.

THE STORE ROOM AND STORE KEEPER

In a large institution it will be necessary to have one or more persons giving their whole time to the

care of this room and its books, and the issue of supplies from it. In a small institution where the business does not need one person's whole time it is, however, equally desirable that the stores should be issued by one person only and that he alone should have the keys of the store room.

The financial loss of poor administration usually occurs through many small leakages, rarely through a few large ones. A well kept store room is the best place to detect and stop institution leaks of almost every kind. Here accurate and persistent method is required. Just as no man ever began to keep a careful financial record of his personal expenditure without at least attempting retrenchment, so a well kept store room and store room ledger show inevitably where economy may be effected in institution expenditure.

It will be found, for instance, that one department with no more floor space will be using twice as much scrubbing soap, soda, and other cleansers as another department. Brooms will be seen to last half as long again in one department as in another. In one department bed linen mysteriously disappears and must be replaced. The same is true sometimes even of articles of furniture. Items of the kind do not show in a few days, but in a few weeks or months the store room ledger discloses the facts that lead to inquiry and correction.

The important duties in a store room are to keep account of all goods received, to note accu-

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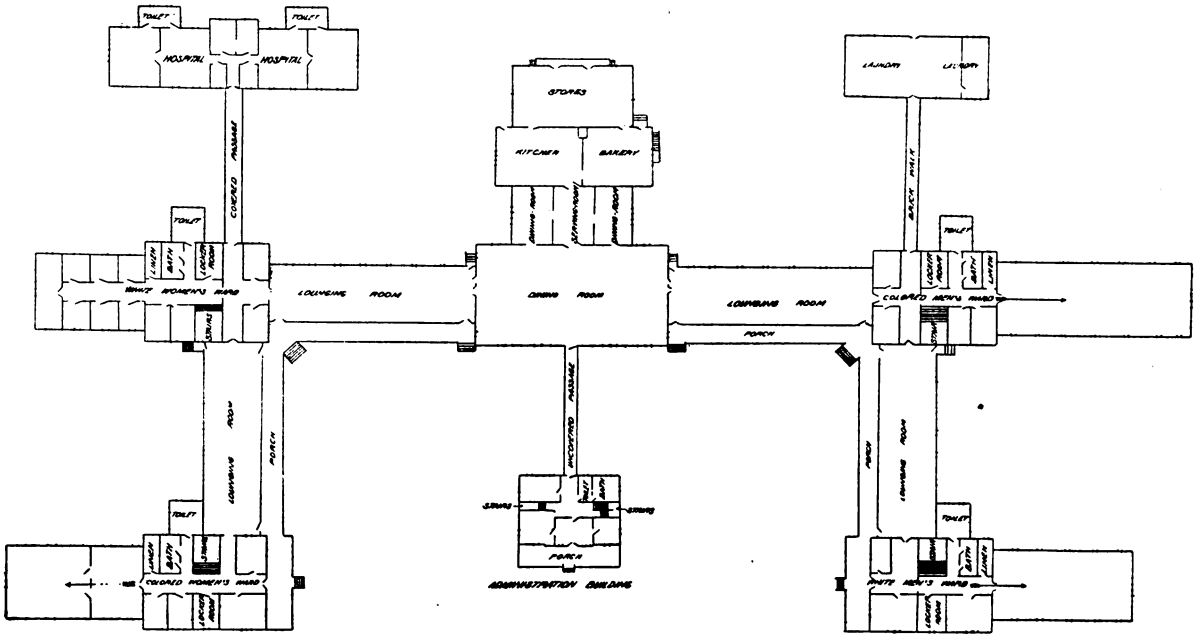
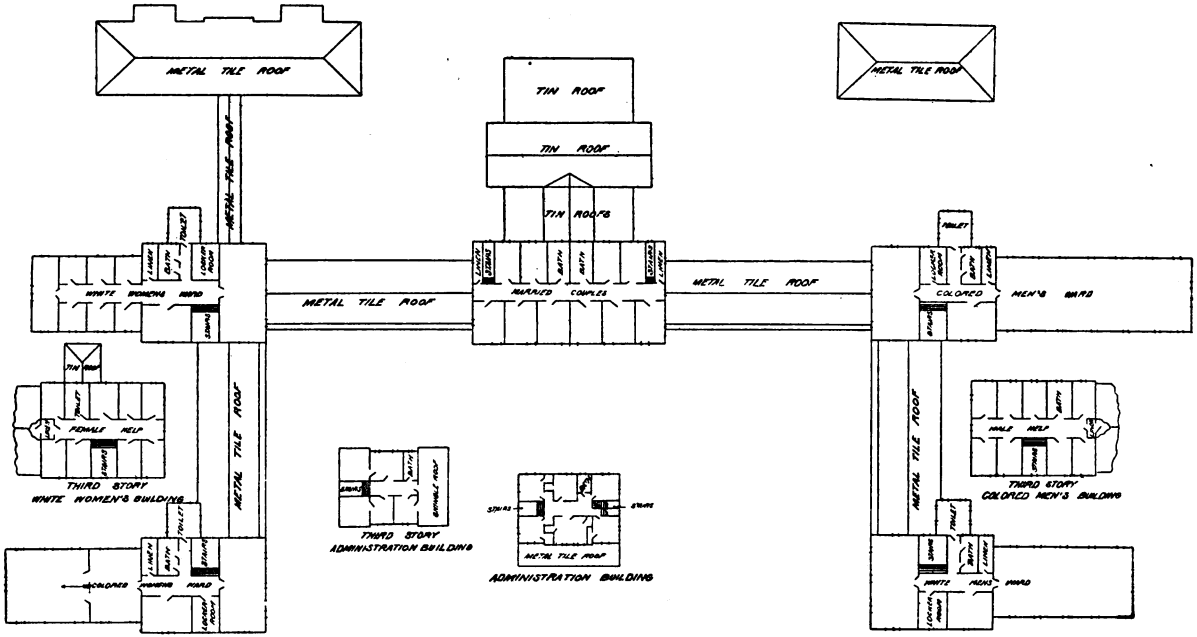
rately their quality and quantity, to keep the supplies clean and in good order with every item accessible and visible, to issue all goods on written orders and keep account of those so issued, and to present an accurate statement when required, for any period, showing goods on hand at the beginning, amount received, amount issued, and amount on hand at the end of the period. Certain goods in an honestly kept store room will always show an apparent deficiency owing to shrinkage by drying out and by loss in weighing. In issuing articles in many small quantities, the constant turn of the scale will in itself cause a loss in gross weight. Loss by evaporation is noticeable in some sugars, also in dried fruits. These regular losses should be understood and allowed for. It is a mistake to try to make up deficiencies, so called, by giving short weight when the stock appears to show shortage.

The practice of issuing supplies only on written requisitions, approved by the superintendent or some one acting for him, is one of the essential details of store keeping. For this reason the superintendent should never himself act as store keeper. Even in the smallest almshouse some employe will be found who can be charged with this duty. Another important detail is that the store room should be kept locked except for a certain period of the day, when all the stores required for twenty-four hours should be issued. This has several great advantages arising out of it.



George O. Totten, Jr., Architect

FIRST FLOOR PLAN, HOME FOR THE AGED AND INFIRM, WASHINGTON, D. C.



SECOND FLOOR PLAN, HOME FOR THE AGED AND INFIRM, WASHINGTON, D. C.

It trains all people requiring stores to look ahead. It also gives plenty of time for consideration of requests. Exceptions can be made if necessary, but these should not be allowed as a matter of course, or they will occur too frequently.

Under control of the store keeper, but possibly handled by one of the farm help, except in institutions large enough to require one person's whole time as store keeper, should be the stores of vegetables and fruit for the winter. These should never be put into the room that contains the dry goods. The stock of smoked meats should be kept in the smokehouse, except pieces actually in cut, and the canned or preserved fruits and vegetables in the store room or in a cellar adjoining it. The potatoes, onions, cabbages, pumpkins, kraut, etc., should never be stored in a cellar under the house proper, because of the effluvium which is both unpleasant and unsanitary. If possible an over-ground, frost-proof cellar should be built for most of these. They should be issued with the same care as marks the issuance of other supplies and the same method of store bookkeeping should be used as with supplies that are purchased in the market.

The store room in an institution should be well lighted and ventilated and easily accessible. The walls should be of brick or hard plaster, the floors of concrete, smoothly finished. The room should be finished with the least possible amount of wood trimming so that there may be no harbor for vermin.

An appendage of the store room should be a place for condemned property. All articles worn out should be brought back to the store room before they are replaced, and nothing should be destroyed except after inspection by the superintendent or matron. Brooms worn out for sweeping are useful for scrubbing, but they should go through the condemned property room and be re-issued. Sheets, the centers of which are worn out, can be used for many purposes, and the same is true of many other articles. But in all cases it is true economy to let articles follow the routine of the condemned property department before being used for other than their original purpose.

FOOD SUPPLY

A frequent criticism of an institution is found in such words as "a plentiful supply of good food, but poorly cooked and badly served." Consequently one of the most important departments of an almshouse is that which attends to its dietary. This should be simple, but wholesome and appetizing, and the system of serving such that the food will be hot. Appearance has a great deal to do with stimulating the appetite, and a neat and cleanly service is economical as well as pleasant. It is always well to make out daily bills of fare for one or two weeks ahead; but monotony should be avoided by frequent changes in them and in the days on which certain ones recur. Much of the too

frequent dyspepsia found among both inmates and employes of institutions, is due to lack of variety in the food and to the deadly monotony which often characterizes the diet. Repetition leads to dislike even of good food; "good digestion waits on appetite," but often fails when appetite is not present.

Cereals should have an important place in every institution dietary, and, in fact, should be used as frequently and in as great abundance as they will be consumed. Here good cooking is of great importance. Half-cooked cereals are indigestible and unattractive. When there is an abundant milk supply, as there should be in every institution having its own farm, it can be served with the cereal foods with advantage. That best of all cereals, oatmeal, should be used much more largely than it is at present in most institutions. On the other hand it is impossible to drive people to eat food which they dislike, or to which they are not accustomed, and often some skill will be required to induce people to eat, and to accustom them to like, really wholesome food.

Vegetables are an equally essential part of the dietary, and here again cooking has much to do with success. They should be fresh and plentiful. Many cooks spoil fresh green vegetables by over-boiling, which makes them not only much less palatable, but actually less digestible and less nutritious.

In an institution much of the meat must inevi-

tably be cooked in the form of soups and stews. These are both convenient and nutritious and with proper cooking, can be made quite palatable. In many institutions, however, the meat stew is always the same and is served so often that people become very tired of it. It is, however, comparatively easy to put stew upon the table three or four times a week, each dish being quite distinct from every other in flavor, odor, and appearance, while certain elements remain the same. Take for example, first, the plain, good, old-fashioned Irish stew, made of meat, onions, and potatoes, with no other vegetables allowed in it; replace the potatoes with rice and add tomatoes, slightly increasing the proportion of onions and pepper, and you have an excellent Spanish stew, equally nutritious, but entirely different in flavor. Again leaving out the potatoes, use flour for thickening, put in some pickle vinegar and chopped up pickles, add carrots and turnips, and you have a Hungarian goulash, which is again quite different both in appearance and in taste; and so on with other combinations which take no more work, and cost no more money, but simply require the exercise of brains.

The student of dietetics knows that food must be varied in composition and contain a due proportion of the elements which go to build up the human body; among these the one that is usually the most expensive is that called "protein." Fortunately the body does not need very much of

this element, not nearly so much as it does of the elements found in the lower priced foods, such as potatoes, bread, etc. The articles of food which are richest in protein are usually popular as well as costly; beef, for protein content and popularity, being the easiest to use. Beans, which are cheap, are still richer in protein than meat and are usually acceptable, but their use must be restricted, for eaten too frequently they interfere with the digestion. Codfish, dried, the cheapest source of protein, requires care in preparation and in some parts of the country is very unpopular. To properly nourish the inmates of an institution the food put on the table must not merely contain the needed variety of elements but must be actually eaten and digested.

When we are feeding cattle it is very easy to learn how to compose a balanced ration; we have only to write to almost any agricultural or dairy paper, stating what food-stuffs are available, and it will give us the schedule of a well balanced ration, so that we can be fairly certain the cattle have just the food elements necessary for our purpose whether that is to produce milk or to fatten beef. The balanced ration for human beings is just as important, but it is much more difficult to compose satisfactorily. Journals devoted to human diet are neither so plenty nor—comparatively—so well equipped to give us this information. Besides which, it is much more difficult to induce people to eat the right proportion of the different foods set

before them. How to feed people in such a way as to satisfy their appetite and keep them in perfect health at the smallest cost and serve the food in an attractive way, is a very useful and interesting study. In a large institution it is well worth while to employ a trained dietitian for the purpose. In the ordinary small or middle-sized almshouses the matron or superintendent must give personal attention to the study of the diet.

The food for the sick will of course be prescribed by the doctor, or if, as should be the case everywhere, a trained nurse is employed, will be one of her particular cares. There will always be some old and feeble people for whom the regular diet will not be appropriate, and for them special food should be prepared. For them, as for the sick, milk and eggs can be freely used.

DRINKING WATER

An important aid to health among institution inmates is an unlimited and convenient supply of pure drinking water, which should be easily accessible at all times. The advantages of such a supply are great. While few people will drink too much water between meals, many will drink more than is good for them with their meals. One way to avoid excessive drinking at meal times is by having plenty of water available at other times.

Nearly all the so-called "*water cures*" are really valuable, not because of a special quality in the

water itself but because large quantities are prescribed to be drunk at proper times. To flush the bodily system is just as necessary as to flush sewers. Some obstinate cases of constipation have been cured by the simple remedy of drinking one or two pints of water every evening immediately before retiring. In summer, ice may be used in moderation, but care is necessary not to have the drinking water too cold.

CLOTHING AND THE CLOTHING ROOM

A well kept clothing room is a matter of economy as well as of comfort. In any but the smallest institutions there should be a separate clothing room in the men's and one in the women's department. The doors should be kept locked and one person only be allowed to give out the garments. Each inmate should be furnished with sufficient outer clothing suitable to the seasons of the year and a change of underclothing, all properly marked with his name, and these should be kept on shelves appropriately divided, each subdivision bearing the inmate's name. The best way to mark the clothes is to write the name with marking ink on linen tape which can then be cut in lengths and firmly sewed onto the garment. If a person brings with him any fairly good garments, he may be given the choice of wearing them or of having clothing supplied by the institution. A difference should be made in the clothing worn on working days and

on Sundays, at any rate for the men and women who are fully employed. The difference does not need to be very great nor to be a matter of much expense. If nothing else, a clean suit or a clean dress, of the kind ordinarily worn, should be insisted upon. Often the inmates' own clothes, which he brought with him, may be kept for Sunday and holiday wear. Clean clothing should be issued on a regular day.*

The above method of handling the clothes makes some work, but it really causes less trouble than the indiscriminate use of garments, a plan that often prevails. The greater care taken by the wearer, of articles which he recognizes as his own, amounts to something, while the conservation of personal dignity is a valuable aid to good order and discipline.

As far as possible all clothing for men as well as for women should be washable. In summer this is simple because the use of denims is almost universal among workmen, denim jackets and overalls as outer garments usually being acceptable. To provide warm winter clothing is not so simple, but heavier underwear can be used and a loose outer garment of denim be made to cover the cloth garments and keep them from becoming soiled.

Prompt repair of torn or worn clothing is a part of good economy. This should be done in the clothing room or, if convenient, in a special sewing

* See Chapter V, section on Bathing, p. 81.

room which shall adjoin it. All garments from the laundry should be carefully inspected before going to the clothing room and those needing repair sent at once to the sewing room. In patching outer garments, a good plan is to cut up one that is worn out and use the better parts of it for repairing others not so far gone. This is often a much better plan than to use new materials, as the patch is then less conspicuous.

Inmates should be encouraged to keep themselves and their clothing neat and tidy; a missing button or an unmended rent should be considered an offense, and a neat patch a badge of honor.

FURNITURE AND FURNISHINGS

THE BEDROOMS. FURNITURE AND USE. Great extravagance is often committed in the purchase of so-called cheap furniture for institutional use. While costly furniture is improper and while everything should be plain, nothing but the best and most substantial of its kind should ever be purchased.

In the bedrooms each person should have an iron bed with substantial casters and the best quality of woven wire bed bottom. For all the healthy inmates, straw ticks, which are easily and cheaply renewed, are much preferable to mattresses. If these latter are used for the infirm they should be well covered. For some of the feeble-minded and the insane, and for inmates with certain chronic

diseases, the bedding should be protected by rubber sheets or by some other waterproof covering.

Good all-wool blankets are better, and eventually cheaper, than comfortables or quilts, because they can be more easily washed without injury. The alleged cheapness of wool—or rather shoddy—blankets of poor quality, is deceptive, but there are cheap cotton blankets to be had which are suitable for beds that require frequent cleansing.

For sheets and pillow covers a heavy unbleached sheeting should be chosen. This bleaches out in a few washings and wears twice as long as the ordinary bleached sheetings, which are often loaded with size to make them seem heavy.

Pillows are preferably stuffed with hair or moss. Feather pillows are a luxury that may properly be provided for a few of the feeble old people who have all their lives been accustomed to them. Epileptics should never have any but hair pillows.*

Each single bedroom should contain, besides the bed, a small table, a chair, and a clothes closet built into the wall or a movable chest of drawers. Clothes hanging about the bedrooms on a row of nails driven into the walls are neither sanitary nor orderly, and should never be allowed. A shelf in the closet may hold the inmate's private possessions, but trunks in the bedrooms should be for-

* The writer has known two cases of epileptics who, during a spasm in the night while in bed, have turned over on their faces and been smothered in a feather pillow. Many such cases are on record.

bidden. A safe place, under lock and key, should be provided for these elsewhere. Those who occupy single rooms should be permitted to decorate them according to their own taste in a simple way. In an almshouse on a modern plan, with small detached cottages for the best grade of inmates,* some of the rules may be relaxed, and in some cases the inmates may be allowed to bring in furniture of their own, feather beds, etc.†

No well conducted almshouse tolerates the use of the dormitories for other than sleeping purposes. And none except bedridden patients, who should have single rooms, should be allowed in their bedrooms during the daytime. In the mornings as soon as the inmates are up and dressed, beds should be opened, bed clothes thrown back, all the windows opened wide, and the room and its contents thoroughly aired and sunned.‡ At least three hours of airing daily should be insisted upon. Beds should not be made up until long after breakfast. In the sick ward this plan cannot be followed, except with those cases able to be up for a time during the day, but even in other cases the thorough airing of the bed whenever practicable must not be neglected.

* See Chapter V, The Inmates.

† See the description of the "shanties" on page 67. Also Appendix VII, page 183, describing the small cottage homes of the Firvale Union, Sheffield, England.

‡ See Chapter V, section on Personal Cleanliness, p. 81, and Chapter VI, section on Institution Odor, p. 113, as to the airing of night shirts and day clothing.

THE KITCHEN. The equipment of a kitchen varies so greatly with the number to be provided for, that only the most general terms can be used in speaking of it. When live steam is available, there is great economy in the use of steam kettles, which allow the long, slow cooking that is now recognized as important. The same effect, with even greater economy, on a smaller scale, can be gained by the use of the *fireless cooker*, so called, a recent modification of an old idea, which is making a quiet revolution in many domestic kitchens, and is helping to offset the rise in the price of food stuffs.

It goes without saying that the kitchen utensils should all be of the very best and most substantial quality, and that there should be a full supply of them.

THE DINING ROOM. FURNITURE AND SERVICE. In the dining room, as everywhere in an institution with a variety of inmates, classification is important; and convenient management of the room depends primarily upon its furniture.

The tables should be substantial and not too large, the old fashioned long tables with seats for twenty or more on each side being objectionable for many reasons, chiefly because of the impossibility of proper classification. The number at a table should be either four, six, or eight. Allowing about twenty-seven inches for each person, a table six feet nine by four feet, will seat eight, three at a side and one at each end. Tables of this kind

may be substantially built, and yet not be too heavy to be easily moved without the use of casters. The seats in all cases should be chairs, never stools nor wooden benches.

The table for all but the lowest grades of inmates should be covered with a linen cloth. Unbleached linen is very durable, soon bleaches out white in washing, and is so much more attractive than oilcloth that it should be used whenever possible. If oilcloth is replaced as soon as it becomes worn, the expense in the long run, except for the cost of washing, will be found to be almost, if not quite, as much as for linen. A bare wooden table, scrubbed to spotless cleanliness after each meal, is not unattractive, but the labor of scrubbing is almost prohibitive, while if not scrubbed to perfection, such tables are both unsightly and unsanitary, especially when they become old and begin to show cracks.

For inmates who are very uncleanly and who cannot be taught cleanliness, white oilcloth tablecovers which can be easily washed after every meal may be allowed.

Plated tableware should be used on all the tables of the better grades of inmates, and the dishes, plates, cups and saucers, and bowls should be of heavy queensware. For inmates who are incorrigibly careless, enameled ware may be used, although it is questionable whether it is economical if appearance is regarded, since this ware is easily chipped and then looks little better than tin;

it is, however, possible to keep it clean. Tin cups and plates are an abomination. They are rarely washed clean, and are soon dented and rusted and must be replaced.

With tables as suggested for six or eight people each of whom is assigned to his or her particular seat, it is comparatively easy to divide the inmates into congenial groups, and to secure a degree of comfort as well as good order that is hard to get in any other way.

The method of service again has much to do with good order. For all the better grade inmates the food may be put on the tables in dishes, those at the head serving the others. In this way the food can be served hotter, and with a little care there will be much less waste than when it is divided on individual plates before serving. Moreover, the little distinction conferred on the one who presides at the table is often valued. Everything of this kind, though seemingly trivial, is yet an aid in management if properly used.

For the feeble and helpless, service must be according to their needs. There will be some who cannot feed themselves, although they can walk to the dining room. Help must be given them, and this can often be found among their associates, to whom the task may be regularly assigned. Wise managers will take advantage of and cultivate the kindly, human instincts which often exist in inmates of institutions.

Neatness of person and clothing should be ex-

acted in the dining rooms. No inmate with dirty face or hands or uncombed hair should be allowed at table. The men should be shaved and their hair cut regularly. The women should be even more careful, as they readily will be if encouraged. There should be lavatories with good supplies of soap and towels not far from the dining room entrances and in each a mirror should hang, or, better still, be screwed tight to the wall.

THE SITTING ROOMS. The sitting rooms should be provided with benches and chairs, among which should be a good proportion of rocking and easy chairs for the older inmates. It is a good plan to allot the more comfortable ones to individual inmates so as to avoid quarrels. The rocking chairs should be substantial, and if they are strong and well made will really last longer than straight chairs, as the latter are frequently broken or weakened by being tilted against the wall, which strains and loosens the joints. Good strong tables, one or two couches, and a few shelves on the wall for books and papers, should complete the furniture of the room.

Prints and pictures are now so good and so cheap that there is no reason why the walls of the sitting rooms should not be ornamented with them. A few plants in the windows are bright and cheerful. All the sitting room windows should have shades. The windows, as throughout the house, should be kept clean. The paint everywhere should be washed regularly and the walls, if tinted, should be

gone over once a year; if painted, they should be washed occasionally. Short curtains on the windows and pictures on the walls should be the rule.

INSTITUTION ODOR

This disagreeable and unsanitary feature of institution life is very common, especially in cold weather when the windows are kept closed and ventilation is purely mechanical or non-existent. This odor has two main sources, the bodies, breath, and clothing of the inmates, and emanations from the floors. The latter cause is not present to any serious extent when polished hard wood is used instead of scrubbed pine, and the former can be removed by attention to individual cleanliness. To secure this, however, is not easy. Eternal vigilance is the price of cleanliness of person. Sufficient bathing in hot water at least weekly and daily attention to ordinary lavation must be insisted upon. As has already been mentioned, all underclothing should be changed and washed at least once a week,* and outer clothing should be washed at moderate intervals.†

Another matter often neglected is the daily change of clothing on going to bed. Every inmate should be furnished with a comfortable nightshirt

* See Chapter VI, section on Clothing, p. 104.

† It is curious to our Western minds to be told that the Chinese regard us as very filthy persons because we wear our outer garments month after month without washing them. The Chinaman thinks his outer garments should be washed as frequently as his underwear.

or nightgown and should be required to change to the skin on undressing. The day clothes should hang in some place for airing during the night and the nightgown should be in free air during the day. Nightgowns should never be allowed to be placed on the mattress or under the pillow during the day, as will be done if not prevented.

There are few things more difficult to do than to make the chronic pauper change the habits of a lifetime and abstain from sleeping in his day clothing. This task is even more difficult than to enforce the weekly full bath or the daily "washing behind the ears." In an almshouse, however, where these things are successfully and regularly done, good order, cleanliness and discipline will usually be found to prevail. It is easy to see how valuable is the dormitory plan when it comes to enforcing regulations of the kind.

VERMIN

Every institution must wage an incessant warfare against vermin of every kind. The commonest vermin, and perhaps the most difficult to eradicate, are bedbugs. Occasionally an old building, especially of frame, which has been neglected, is so infested with these annoying insects that it is impossible to exterminate them. But even in good new buildings where constant attention is paid to the subject, the management must be prepared to find them. Moreover, new

inmates usually bring boxes or bundles of clothing which carry the pests, and sometimes these even infest the clothes they are wearing. It is a good thing to have a disinfecting closet which can be made air tight and where formaldehyde may be used freely, in which the clothing may be placed for a while and thoroughly disinfected.* During the summer months a systematic inspection of bedsteads and mattresses should also be made. In some almshouses the beds are taken apart, inspected, and thoroughly cleansed once a week during this season.

Lice of various kinds are a still more annoying and all too common nuisance. These, if found, must be eradicated by the most vigorous methods, upon which the doctor may be properly consulted, and then be kept out by thoroughly disinfecting all new inmates, who should be bathed in a plentiful supply of hot water before being assigned to a room. Where there is any suspicion of body lice, blue ointment or some other mercurial poison must be freely used.

The common domestic fly, which we have long regarded as merely troublesome, has lately been proved to be one of the greatest carriers of disease. Whenever possible, the whole house should be

* The best disinfectant is, probably, a mixture of sulphur and formalin. The sulphur candle, burnt in a dish which is made for the purpose, holding formalin, vaporizes the latter into formaldehyde gas. The Depree Formaldehyde Fumigator made by the Depree Chemical Company, Holland, Mich., is used officially by many city boards of health.

protected against flies (as well as against mosquitoes), but special attention should be paid to screening the windows and doors of the kitchen, dining rooms, and sick rooms.

Besides thorough screening of the house, a still more important means of avoiding the nuisance of flies is by general cleanliness outside. No decaying substance should be allowed, except in a place properly prepared for it. Barrels of swill, boxes of garbage, and similar breeding places of flies and contagion, should be promptly emptied and cleansed, and should be well covered with wire screens when in use. Persistent cleanliness, not only in the house, but in the surrounding grounds, is necessary to secure immunity from the contagion which these insect vermin carry.

Rats and mice, while not so annoying, are yet expensive and sometimes dangerous, and must be kept down or if possible exterminated. Especially in the store room should the floor and walls be rat and mouse proof, and the various goods be stored in such a way that there shall be no hiding places. The barn is a frequent haunt of the rat, and the feed bins and also the corn crib should be made rat proof.

CHAPTER VII

CARE OF THE SICK

THE HOSPITAL DEPARTMENT

IN counties containing large cities and in the more populous towns, hospital care for the sick poor can usually be obtained. But in the rural counties, the almshouse must perforce also be the county hospital for the poor. This fact is becoming increasingly recognized in many states, and the hospital department of the almshouse is consequently being better arranged and supported.* This development has gone so far in California, for instance, that instead of the hospitals being a department of the almshouse, the reverse is the case, the county hospital being the main institution.†

We find a somewhat similar growth of the care of the sick in many other states, at any rate as far as contagious diseases go. The "pest house" is often situated on the county farm, although its management is rarely considered to be the duty

* For the location of the hospital and its relation to water supply, etc., see Chapter III, Construction, in the section on the Hospital Department, p. 25.

† See Appendix III, page 158, Extract from discussion on County Hospitals in California, at National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1905.

of the superintendent of the almshouse, being specially organized by the local board of health at the time of each recurring epidemic.

It is important to have the infirmaries, whether in a separate building or not, reserved for the one purpose only, and kept vacant when there are no sick people needing them. They should be fitted up with special furniture and such conveniences as commodes, bedpans, hot water bottles, douches, etc., which must be at hand when needed. A very positive rule should forbid the sick room equipment being borrowed and used in other parts of the house.

THE MEDICAL OFFICER

The doctor should make regular visits to the almshouse either daily or twice or three times each week. While frequent visits take a little time, yet early treatment in attacking a disease before it is advanced will often avert grave illness which would be a much more serious drain upon the physician's time and energy. It is his province not only to treat the sick but to prevent sickness. For this reason he should be on the alert to detect and correct any unsanitary conditions which may exist. He should see all new inmates at his first visit after their admission. The amount of labor an inmate can do depends upon his physical condition, and should be determined, to a large extent at least, by the physician.

No sick person should be received without a diagnosis of his case from the physician who has treated him. When this is lacking and the patient is in such a condition that he must be admitted, the regular almshouse physician should immediately be summoned. Until his visit, the patient should be isolated and, no matter what the apparent symptoms are, be treated as though the case were known to be a contagious one. To import a contagious disease into an almshouse is a very serious thing; yet it will be done unless the superintendent strictly enforces some such rule as that suggested above. Many institutions quarantine all new inmates, whether they are sick or well, until any danger of contagion is past; and when it can be enforced, this is a good rule for every almshouse.

The physician's compensation should always be by the month or year, never by the single visit. If he comes regularly and if he is watchful of the health conditions of the establishment, special visits will seldom be necessary. When they are, however, they should be promptly made.

The arrangement by which the doctor gives both service and medicine for a specified lump sum per annum is a very bad one. The medicine that is necessary should be paid for when required and the best is the cheapest. There should be no niggardliness in the medical department; the doctor should be supplied with the drugs and appliances which he needs. There may be a

question as to the duty of society to care for and support the shiftless and the inefficient; there can be no question of the duty of the community to care for the dependent sick,—and *care* means complete care, not semi-neglect nor a stinting of the best means of medical treatment.

NURSING

Wherever the care of the sick is considered as being a serious part of the institution's work, it should be in charge of a trained nurse. There are few almshouses so small that a person with a nurse's training is not needed. In fact, that training would be highly valuable for the matron. But in the care of the sick the difference between the "good, old-fashioned, motherly nurse," whom many people like to talk about in a sentimental way, and the efficient graduate nurse who has been trained in one of our excellent hospital schools, is simply that between the methods of the eighteenth and those of the twentieth century.

In the large almshouses of the great cities, where there are one thousand or more inmates and seventy-five to one hundred people usually in the hospital, a resident physician will properly be found. The smaller institutions which have a hospital department separate from the main building may be content with a graduate nurse, and a great many of them now employ one. As long ago as 1902 it was reported for the state of

New York, that over 33 per cent of the county almshouses were equipped with detached hospitals, each in charge of a trained nurse, and the proportion has certainly increased since then.

With a graduate nurse in charge, much of the nursing in a small hospital can be done by ordinary help under her direction. Where there are many patients the training school method of securing assistants can be adopted.*

THE CARE OF CONSUMPTIVES

A few years ago when a person was told by a competent physician that he had consumption, or tuberculosis of the lungs, he and his friends accepted the verdict as a death sentence. He also continued to live with his family and did not know that he could possibly be a source of infection to them. But modern treatment of tuberculosis cases is based upon two principles that have been conclusively demonstrated only within the past twenty-five years; the first is that, taken in time, consumption may be cured; the second, that it is invariably caused by a germ, and therefore is a disease that may be transmitted from one person to another.

Consumptives are often found in institutions.

* See Appendix XIV, page 227, "Una and her Paupers"; also Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1895, p. 276, Rowe, "A Plea for Trained Nurses in Almshouse Hospitals," and p. 267, Darche, "Blackwell's Island Hospitals." Also Proceedings of 1902, p. 212, "The Almshouse Hospital," by Mrs. Alice N. Lincoln.

It is of great importance that the disease shall be recognized early, that proper treatment of the patient shall be had, and that any possible source of infection shall be cut off. Patients should be segregated or isolated, their clothing, sheets and bed linen thoroughly disinfected and washed separately from those of other inmates, and their sputum disinfected and destroyed. Any one with a suspicious cough, or a cough of long standing, should be reported to the doctor and thoroughly examined by him. The danger of infection is so great that suspected cases should be treated as though they were certain until all doubtful symptoms are gone, and especially should the rules about spitting be positive and strenuously enforced, and may well apply to all inmates, whether suspected of tuberculosis or not. In all cases the orders of the doctor as to fresh air, extra nutrition, and rest should be faithfully followed.

If the infirmary department is built with a porch or gallery, this, screened from wind and rain, makes an excellent place for consumptives' sleeping quarters. If no such porch is available, then the tent-window-bed, which allows the sleeper's head to be outdoors while his body is warm within, should be provided.

It is probable that the present national campaign against tuberculosis will result in more cases rather than fewer being brought to almshouses. The necessity of removing advanced cases from their homes, when these are the crowded homes of

the poor, is being recognized and, failing special hospitals or sanatoria, such patients will be sent to the only available place, which in many cases means the almshouse. Many of the large city almshouses have been equipped recently with special wards for consumptive cases, and it will be increasingly necessary to do this. While the danger of infection is serious, it is possible to avert it if the physician makes strict rules and the administration enforces them.

MATERNITY CASES

The woman about to become a mother makes a strong appeal to our sympathy, especially if she is one on whom the burden of her own support, as well as that of her prospective child, is laid. All country almshouses, and many in the cities, frequently admit cases of the kind. The best method of dealing with the unmarried mother and her babe should, therefore, be studied. Too often the woman comes in pregnant, bears the child, and goes out again as soon as she can walk, sometimes taking the baby and sometimes leaving it behind.

The inadequacy of the legal control of such cases is one of the many weak places in our system of public relief and reformation. Under the usual present arrangements the almshouse, as a maternity hospital, is certainly more of an encouragement to immorality than a deterring influence. This subject has long been under discussion and the

evils of reckless neglect by the proper authorities have been made known. Perhaps the most scathing criticism of public neglect of the dissolute accompanied by partial public support which makes continued dissoluteness possible, that has ever been presented, will be found in an extract from a paper read at the sixth National Conference of Charities and Correction by Mrs. Charles Russell Lowell of New York City.*

A reasonable requirement in maternity cases would be that the mother should stay, with her child, until it is weaned, either in the almshouse itself or in some suitable place, in the meantime doing such useful work as she is able. Until we have sensible laws on the subject, something might be done by exacting a pledge that the mother will stay at least one year, as a condition of the order for admission of a confinement case.

Whatever may or may not be done about the control of illegitimacy, the mother and her babe must be carefully and kindly treated and well nursed. If the hospital department is under the control of a trained nurse, she will of course take charge. If it is not, a special, qualified nurse should be engaged for the time being. It is not right in such a case to trust to the nursing of any old woman who "has had seven and buried six," and therefore knows all about it. If maternity cases are frequent, it is evidently good economy

* See Appendix XV, page 229, extracts from a paper read at the sixth National Conference, 1879.

to employ a competent nurse by the year. With the great advance in medical and nursing science and the general recognition of what aseptic nursing means, no intelligent governing board will refuse to allow the proper help at such times in the hospital department.

CHAPTER VIII

MENTAL DEFECTIVES

WHILE as a general proposition it is quite true that feeble-minded, epileptic, and insane persons ought to be in specialized, and preferably in state institutions, there yet are very few almshouses that do not contain some members of these classes. In some places, indeed, they form the majority of the inmates.

In a state fully equipped with institutions, the duty of the superintendent, when a defective person comes with an admission order, is, if possible, to secure his or her reception in the appropriate state institution. Failing such institutions to depend upon, he must take care to classify his inmates. Some large almshouses have special buildings for the insane or feeble-minded, but in any case, these inmates should be so guarded that they cannot annoy the older and feebler men and women, and are themselves protected from rough or vicious inmates.

In the care of the milder forms of insanity, the separation does not need to be complete. In fact, in a small institution, many of these persons may

receive practically the same treatment as the sane. They are often efficient workers and, but for their mental trouble, are frequently of a better class than the majority of the inmates. They together with the higher grades of the feeble-minded* are often the best helpers among the inmates of institutions, and are sometimes more happy and more useful in a small, well kept almshouse than they would be in a mammoth hospital without proper occupation. This, however, in the case of both the feeble-minded and the insane, is only true of small almshouses, in which the treatment of each inmate can be individualized and administered personally by the superintendent or matron.

Here are a few illustrative cases among many in the writer's experience in county almshouses:

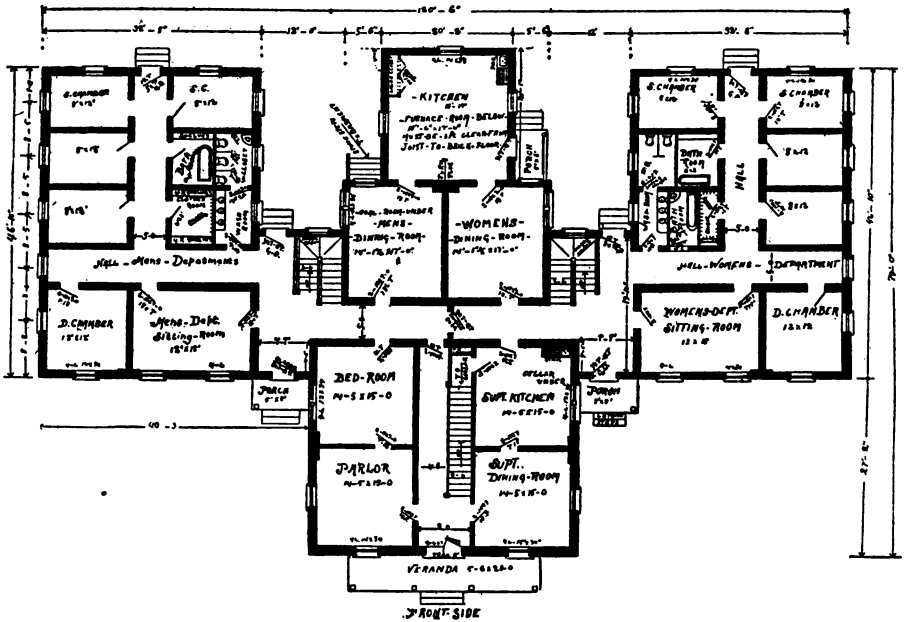
In L—— County one insane man has charge of all the feeding of cattle and horses, carrying the keys of the feed room. This man will not speak to a human being, but is chatty with the live stock and is an excellent horseman.

In W—— County an insane man is the best hand on the farm; has his regular team, plows, harrows, and does all a hired man would do except drive the wagon to town.

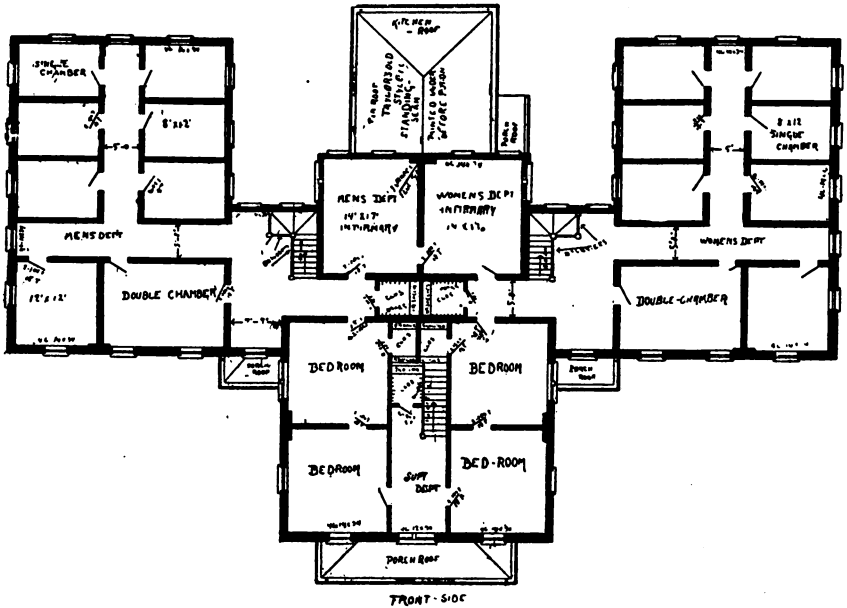
In O—— County an insane man does all the housework, except the cooking, for a small almshouse, and washes, starches, and irons the clothes; is a very neat ironer, a little cross and somewhat profane in speech, but perfectly kind in action.

In H—— County a feeble-minded woman does all the cooking, washing, and ironing for an almshouse of 30 inmates.

* See Appendix IX, page 201, Imbeciles in Almshouses.



FIRST FLOOR PLAN, ORANGE COUNTY POOR ASYLUM, INDIANA.



SECOND FLOOR PLAN, ORANGE COUNTY POOR ASYLUM, INDIANA.

In C—— County a feeble-minded woman, with three illegitimate children, does the washing (Mondays), the baking (Wednesdays and Saturdays), and the churning (Tuesdays and Fridays). Thursday is the only day she does not seem happy, the regular religious service on Sunday seeming to have as consoling an effect as the active work of the other days.*

While it is rare that a strong-minded inmate will do work enough to hurt him, it is necessary to be careful that the feeble-minded are not overworked. Cases are not infrequent in which a feeble-minded man of rather feeble body will, unless checked, attempt labor fit only for a robust person. Their errors of judgment in such things as loading a wheelbarrow, or taking too heavy a load on their shoulders, must be guarded against, as well as the fact that other inmates, if they are not watched, will often impose on the feeble-minded. In utilizing the labor of these defectives, especially of the women, the superintendent and matron must never forget the constant need of watchfulness to protect them from wrong.

* What is said above about the insane in almshouses, must not be construed as an argument in favor of their continual care under ordinary almshouse conditions. It is meant to show that it is possible under favorable conditions to give fairly good care to certain selected exceptional cases. The sad stories that can be truthfully told, of the neglected insane under unfit conditions, make every humane person agree that they should all be, if not under complete state support, very certainly under complete state control. Support and control are not necessarily functions of the same agency. See Appendix XVI, page 236, Instances of Improper Treatment of Insane in Almshouses.

CHAPTER IX

MISCELLANEOUS

THE FRONT DOOR YARD

AN attractive appearance is a valuable asset of a public building, and one of the best ways to make a house attractive is by taking care of the front grounds. Shade trees, and grass plots, a few flower beds, chiefly filled with hardy perennials, a neat front gate and fence and tidy walks, should be insisted upon. All these may be had by the small almshouse. They cost little in money and not very much in work. Some of the older inmates can be very pleasantly employed for the greater part of the year in the care of the yard. The grass should be cut and raked regularly, and in the driest season sprinkled every day. The walks should be kept clean. Trees should be carefully trimmed, the flowers that are in full bloom gathered, and vines trained to cover anything unsightly.

The inmates, especially the older ones, should be allowed and encouraged to use the lawns and to rest under the shade trees. Whatever will get them out of doors at any time is to be valued.

All that is said above as to the front yard applies

to all the grounds in the vicinity of the house. An orderly house keeps its back yard as clean as the front. Nothing presents a worse appearance than discarded or half worn material scattered about. A disorderly back yard is one of the commonest faults of small country almshouses, yet it is one of the easiest to remedy.

THE FARM AND GARDEN

To supply the institution should be the first if not the only consideration in raising crops; the almshouse kitchen is the best and nearest customer of the almshouse farm. Occasionally we find a county farm which does more than this, enough surplus produce in cattle, hogs, and wheat being sold yearly to pay for groceries, clothing, and, in some cases, even for the salary of the superintendent. But such instances are rare.

The choice of crops will depend on the amount and quality of land. As a rule, no more wheat should be raised than will make the flour needed. Often with a small acreage it may pay better to buy all the flour. Many farmers regard a wheat crop as indispensable in their rotation, but profitable rotations may be worked out without it. It rarely pays to buy large amounts of land and hire farm help to raise wheat. On the other hand, it is always right to raise enough feed, both grain and roughage, for the necessary cattle. Similarly, it does not pay, in most parts of the country, for

even a large institution to raise and slaughter its own beef; yet hogs, if kept free from disease, are profitable even on a small acreage.

The potato crop is perhaps the most valuable. Next come the milk and the meat. Then the fruit, large and small. The garden crops come before the field crops in importance if not in cash value. A good vegetable garden grows more food and employs more labor of the kind the inmates are usually able to perform, than any other part of the land, and it should have special attention.

The following extract from the Indiana Bulletin, published by the Board of State Charities, though written for the latitude of Indiana, applies very generally in this country.

"Almost without exception our poor asylum farms can be made to grow a considerable part, if not all, of the vegetables and fruits that can be used. Some of our poor asylums are self-supporting; that is to say, the cash returns of the farm are greater than the total expense of conducting the institution, including the superintendent's salary. In this no account is taken of the products grown and used by the institution. Still others could be considered self-supporting, if we count at the ordinary market value the farm products used by the superintendent and the inmates. Many are not so. Some cannot be. It is certain that many more can be self-supporting than are. A greater number of others can be made more nearly self-supporting. Some of our poor asylums have good orchards, and others raise some small fruit. How few, though, raise as much either of fruit or garden stuff as they should. We like to encourage those in charge to grow all the

garden vegetables they can, both for eating fresh and putting away for winter use. Beds of rhubarb and asparagus are not difficult to establish, and when once prepared last for years, affording both healthful and nutritious food. It is not difficult to grow an abundance of dry beans, winter squashes, pumpkins, or to raise a sufficient supply of tomatoes, pickles, cabbage, beets and turnips to last through the winter. A sufficient supply of potatoes is generally grown. One poor-asylum superintendent takes a special pride in growing sweet potatoes. He was found to have one room in the cellar with sweet potatoes corded to the floor above, in ricks like stove wood, and he said they usually had enough to last the inmates until spring, and plenty to spare to others. Another superintendent takes a special pride in his squashes and pumpkins. He was visited in the fall, just when he had finished unloading three full forty-bushel wagonbeds for the use of the inmates, and had taken two or three times that many to the barn for the stock. Another superintendent is an expert in growing watermelons. During the season the inmates who wish have them three times a day, until they become tired of them. After frost had killed the vines, he had two or three wagon loads in the yard covered with corn-fodder, so that they might be available for whoever wanted them as long as they were good.

"Some of these things, of course, depend upon locality; others upon the experience of the superintendent. There is no reason, however, why every institution should not grow an abundance of small fruits—currants, gooseberries, strawberries, blackberries, raspberries, grapes, plums, and cherries. They can be grown in every part of our state. They require a little care, but that care is such as could be rendered, frequently by persons who cannot perform ordinary manual labor. The weeding of plants, trimming of vines, or picking fruit are duties which often can be assigned to inmates who cannot render some other service. Thus, between the vegetable garden and small

fruit patch much could be grown that would be valuable not only through its season, but also through the winter following, as a healthful article of food. At the same time the fresh fruit, as well as the labor expended in growing it, would be helpful to the inmates and a lessening of expense to the county."

REPAIRS

There is no greater extravagance than a neglect of necessary repairs. The adage of "a stitch in time" emphatically applies here. The writer once saw a whole system of state institutions, some fifteen or sixteen in number, allowed to run down, because a new governor with a passion for what he called "economy," elected on a party ticket that had been defeated regularly for many years, had preached saving of money to the managers who belonged exclusively to his party, and whom he had appointed. The result was that repairs, when they were made a few years later, cost three or four times more than would have been the case had they been kept up to date.

It is much better, and cheaper in the long run, to lay a good new floor, than to cover up an old rotten one with linoleum or other covering. Roofs that begin to leak should be repaired without the loss of a day's time. When plastering begins to show cracks or get loose in one corner, prompt and thorough repair is the only course. A good coat of paint is often an excellent investment. Woodwork should never be exposed either inside

or outside the house without proper painting or other permanent finish.

The making of repairs will often be found a useful occupation for certain of the inmates. These repairs, however, must be only minor ones. When roofs leak or downspouts break, and especially when internal plumbing gets out of order, the services of competent mechanics must immediately be secured.

ENTERTAINMENTS AND AMUSEMENTS

Life in an institution of any kind grows monotonous, and this is especially true of life in an almshouse. Anything that will break this monotony and promote happiness and cheerfulness should be encouraged.

Every almshouse should possess a small library of entertaining books, and by subscription or gift should regularly receive a few newspapers and magazines. The county papers will usually put the almshouse on their free list if requested, while magazines are now so cheap and popular that it is not difficult to secure a full supply. The pictures with which most of these are illustrated make them attractive to people who read with difficulty, and even the advertising pages are looked over with pleasure.

Besides books, papers, and magazines, other forms of entertainment for the inmates should be studied. Often an inmate will be found with a

fair education and a good voice who may be induced to spend an hour occasionally, in the evening, reading aloud to the others who are less accomplished. Often some member of the staff can be pressed into the service, or visitors can sometimes be induced to come regularly, either in the afternoons or evenings, for the purpose. If the almshouse is near a town or city it is often possible to get young people's societies of the churches to give pleasant entertainments. The Epworth League or the Christian Endeavor Society will frequently respond to an invitation of the sort.* In a certain city a Ladies' Musical Society gives three or four concerts each winter in the neighboring almshouse. A gentleman known for his good works of all kinds, who owns a graphophone, goes out with it occasionally to the almshouse to amuse the old people. When the records with the campaign speeches of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Bryan were published a few years ago, some of the old men expressed great delight at hearing these celebrated speakers.

Games like checkers, dominoes, and cards should be permitted and encouraged, although gambling should of course be forbidden. It is easy, especially about holiday time, to get a supply of game material as well as of gifts. A notice in the county paper that the superintendent is arranging

* In one small country town, the members of the Christian Endeavor Society regularly collect magazines from their friends, and take them to the almshouse and the jail, for the use of the inmates.

a Christmas treat for the inmates and asks contributions of gifts for the old men and women will almost certainly bring a supply, especially if he mentions the sorts of games, and pipes, ribbons, combs, and other things that he would like to have. National and other holidays should also always be observed in appropriate ways.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

EVILS OF PROMISCUOUS MINGLING OF CLASSES IN THE ALMSHOUSE

Extract from the Minority Report of the British Poor Law Commission, 1909

NOTHING can be stronger than the condemnation in the Report of the Royal Commission of 1834 of the general mixed workhouse, whether large or small, old or newly designed for its purpose. The assistant commissioners had found, in the great majority of parishes, the workhouse "occupied by sixty or eighty paupers, made up of a dozen or more neglected children (under the care, perhaps, of a pauper), about twenty or thirty able-bodied adult paupers of both sexes, and probably an equal number of aged and impotent persons, proper objects of relief. Amidst these the mothers of bastard children and prostitutes live without shame. . . . To these may often be added a solitary blind person, one or two idiots, and not infrequently are heard, from among the rest, the incessant ravings of some neglected lunatic. In such receptacles the sick poor are often immured."

On account of the inevitable association of the different classes, even the largest and best designed general mixed workhouses were equally condemned. "Even in the larger workhouses," continues the report, "internal subdivisions do not afford the means of

classification, where the inmates dine in the same rooms, or meet or see each other in the ordinary business of the place. In the largest houses, containing from 800 to 1000 inmates, where there is comparatively good order, and, in many respects, superior management, it is almost impossible to prevent the formation and extension of vicious connections. Inmates who see each other, though prevented from communication in the house, often become associates when they meet out of it. It is found almost impracticable to subject all the various classes within the same house to an appropriate treatment. One part of a class of adults often so closely resembles a part of another class, as to make any distinction in treatment appear arbitrary and capricious to those who are placed in the inferior class, and to create discontent which the existing authority is too feeble to suppress, and so much complexity as to render the object attainable only by great additional expense and remarkable skill." Hence, stated the report, "at least four classes are necessary—the aged and really impotent, the children, the able-bodied females, the able-bodied males," for each of which distinct institutions were to be provided. "Each class," continues the report, "might thus receive an appropriate treatment; the old might enjoy their indulgences without torment from the boisterous; the children be educated; and the able-bodied subjected to such courses of labour and discipline as will repel the indolent and vicious."

We regret to have to report that, notwithstanding the distinct and emphatic recommendations of the Report of 1834, to which it is commonly assumed that Parliament gave a general endorsement by the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, the general mixed work-

house has not been abolished. In the course of the past half-century, a certain number of specialized institutions such as Poor Law Schools and Poor Law Infirmaries, to be hereafter described, have been established for the children and the sick of certain districts. But every one of the Unions of England, Wales, and Ireland, and now a large number of parishes of Scotland, has its general mixed workhouse; and the great majority of the non-able-bodied poor for whom institutional treatment is provided are still to be found intermingled with the able-bodied men and women in these institutions. Of the 50,000 children who are in Poor Law institutions in England and Wales, there are still 15,000 living actually inside general mixed workhouses. We found that in Scotland, where it is commonly assumed that the Poor Law children are either boarded out or maintained upon outdoor relief, there were 1,845 children in the general mixed workhouses, or not far short of as many in proportion to population as in England itself. In Ireland, out of 9,000 children maintained in Poor Law institutions, no fewer than 8,000 are in the general mixed workhouses, where their condition is the worse in that they do not even go out to the public elementary day school, but are taught on the workhouse premises. Nor is it otherwise with the sick and the aged. Of the uncounted host of inmates of Poor Law institutions who are so sick or infirm as to need nursing or medical attendance,—estimated to number in the United Kingdom at least 130,000,—more than two-thirds are in general mixed workhouses. Of the 140,000 persons over sixty in Poor Law institutions, only a thousand or two in England and Scotland, and none at all in Ireland, are in the separate establishments recom-

mended by the Report of 1834, where "the old might enjoy their indulgences without torment from the boisterous."

Commingled with this mass of non-able-bodied or dependent poor there may be found, in all the workhouses of England, Wales, and Ireland, and in the poorhouses of Scotland, a number of men and women in health and in the prime of life—termed "able-bodied" in England, Wales and Ireland, and "tests" or "turn-outs" in Scotland—who are scarcely capable, from physical or mental defects, of earning a continuous livelihood. In the mammoth establishments of London, Glasgow, Liverpool, Dublin, and Belfast we found even a considerable number of really able-bodied and mentally competent men and women who are "work-shy" or merely unemployed through misfortune—some of them being chronic "ins and outs," or, as the Scotch say, "week-enders," who, whilst they add comparatively little to the official statistics of indoor pauperism, are a perpetual cause of demoralisation of the other inmates. In fact, the general mixed workhouse, including all classes of destitute persons, far from having been abolished, forms today the basis of the whole system of poor relief in England and Wales; it has, within the last century, spread all over Ireland; and we even see it, during the last decade, growing up in its worst forms in Scotland, which had formerly been free from its baneful influence.

We see no reason to differ from our predecessors, the Royal Commissioners of 1834, in their decisive condemnation of the general mixed workhouse. We do not wish to suggest or imply that the workhouses of today are places of cruelty; or that their 250,000

inmates are subjected to any deliberate ill-treatment. These institutions are, in nearly all cases, clean and sanitary; and the food, clothing and warmth are sufficient—sometimes more than sufficient—to maintain the inmates in physiological health. In some cases, indeed, the buildings recently erected in the Metropolis and elsewhere have been not incorrectly described, alike for the elaborateness of the architecture and the sumptuousness of the internal fittings, as "palaces for paupers." In many other places, on the other hand, the old and straggling premises still in use, even in some of the largest Unions, are hideous in their bareness and squalor. But whether new or old, urban or rural, large or small, sumptuous or squalid, these establishments exhibit the same inherent defects. We do not ignore the zeal and devotion by means of which an exceptionally good master and matron, under an exceptionally enlightened committee, here and there, for a brief period, succeed in mitigating, or even in counteracting, the evil tendencies of a general mixed institution. But these evil tendencies, exactly as they were noted by the Commissioners of 1834, are always at work; and sooner or later they have prevailed, in every Union of which we have investigated the history.

After visiting personally workhouses of all types, new and old, large and small, in town and country, in England and Wales, in Scotland and Ireland, we find that the descriptions of the workhouses of 1834, so far as we have quoted them above, might be applied, word by word, to many of the workhouses of today. The dominant note of these institutions of today, as it was of those of 1834, is their promiscuity. We have ourselves seen, in the larger workhouses, the male

and female inmates, not only habitually dining in the same room in each other's presence, but even working individually, men and women together, in laundries and kitchens, and enjoying in the open yards and long corridors innumerable opportunities to make each other's acquaintance. It is, we find, in these large establishments a common occurrence for assignations to be made by inmates of different sexes, as to spending together the "day out," or as to simultaneously taking the temporary discharge as "ins and outs." It has not surprised us to be informed that female inmates of these great establishments have been known to bear offspring to male inmates and thus increase the burden on the poor rate.

No less distressing has it been to discover a continuous intercourse, which we think must be injurious, between young and old, innocent and hardened. In the female dormitories and day-rooms women of all ages, and of the most varied characters and conditions, necessarily associate together, without any kind of constraint on their mutual intercourse. There are no separate bedrooms; there are not even separate cubicles. The young servant out of a place, the prostitute recovering from disease, the feeble-minded woman of any age, the girl with her first baby, the unmarried mother coming in to be confined of her third or fourth bastard, the senile, the paralytic, the epileptic, the respectable deserted wife, the widow to whom outdoor relief has been refused, are all herded indiscriminately together. We have found respectable old women annoyed, by day and by night, by the presence of noisy and dirty imbeciles. "Idiots who are physically offensive or mischievous, or so noisy as to create a disturbance by day and by night with

their howls, are often found in workhouses mixing with others both in the sick wards and in the body of the house." We have ourselves seen, in one large workhouse, pregnant women who have come in to be confined, compelled to associate day and night and to work side by side with half-witted imbeciles and women so physically deformed as to be positively repulsive to look upon.

In the smaller country workhouses, though the promiscuity is numerically less extensive, and, in some respects, of less repulsive character, the very smallness of the numbers makes any segregation of classes even more impracticable than in the larger establishments. A large proportion of these workhouses have, for instance, no separate sick-ward for children, and, in spite of the ravages of measles, etc., not even a quarantine ward for the constant stream of newcomers. Accordingly, in the sick wards of the smaller workhouses, with no constraint on mutual intercourse, we have more than once seen young children in bed with minor ailments, next to women of bad character under treatment for contagious diseases, whilst other women, in the same ward, were in advanced stages of cancer and senile decay. Our Children's Investigator reports, after visiting many workhouses in town and country, "that children when detained in the workhouse always come into contact with the ordinary inmates. Certainly, in a country workhouse this seems impossible to avoid. Paupers are always employed to help with the rough scrubbing and cleaning, and though matrons invariably try to send the more respectable women into the children's quarters, often the only women available are the mothers of illegitimate babies." In many workhouses we have ourselves

found the children having their meals in the same room and at the same times as the adult inmates of both sexes, of all ages, and of the most different conditions and characters. Even the imbeciles and the feeble-minded are to be found in the same dining-halls as the children. In some workhouses, at any rate, the boys over eight years of age have actually to spend the long hours of the night in the same dormitories as the adult men. In all the small workhouses and in many of the larger ones, the infants are wholly attended to by, and are actually in charge of, aged, and often mentally defective paupers; the able-bodied mothers having, during the first year, daily access to their own babies for nursing, and, subsequently, such opportunities for visiting the common nursery as the master may decide. In the better managed, and in the largest establishments the nursery is, it is true, in charge of a salaried nurse, but even here the handling of babies is mostly left to pauper inmates. However desirable may be the intercourse between an infant and its own degraded mother, it is not to the advantage of the scores of infants in the nursery to be perpetually in close companionship, for the first three or four or five years of their lives, with a stream of mothers of various types that we have mentioned. Such a nursery embedded in the midst of an institution containing not merely hundreds, but thousands of paupers of the most diverse classes, is impregnated through and through with the atmosphere of pauperism.

APPENDIX II

THE ORIGIN OF THE BRITISH WORKHOUSE SYSTEM

When American students of philanthropy begin to compare our own methods with those of other countries, as every student should, they are always surprised to find that the public indoor relief of the poor is done in Great Britain and Ireland in what are called "workhouses." The term in this country means a minor prison, or; as it is usually called, a "House of Correction."

A few words on the origin of the British system may be useful.*

The giving of public relief in England, as distinguished from private charity and the benevolence of the churches or the "Charitable Foundations," was first provided for in the law of 1535,† which was, at

* The author believes that the space devoted to this sketch will be justified if it has the effect of directing anyone interested in the various relief-by-employment schemes of the present, to study the failures and mistakes of the past. There is no more popular theory of the best relief of able-bodied people than that of setting them to work. There is no kind of relief known to the author so difficult to manage, so doubtfully beneficial, so fraught with danger of unexpected ill results. Any student wishing to pursue the study to greater length, will find a very full and elaborate account of the history which is here briefly outlined, in Nicholl's History of the English Poor Law, Vol. II.

† All the numerous previous enactments, during a period of more than twelve hundred years, had been directed towards the punishment of beggars and vagrants, and of those who gave to or harbored them. (See Turner, C. J. Ribton: History of Vagrants and Vagrancy. Chapman and Hall, London, 1887.) The penalties prescribed were excessively severe, even for those days, and included whipping, brand-

least partly, made necessary by the dissolution of the monasteries about that period. This law discriminates between "poor, impotent, sick, and diseased people being not able to work" who may be "provided, holpen, and relieved"; and "such as be lusty, having their limbs strong enough to labour," who "may be daily kept in continual labour, whereby every one of them may get their own living with their own hands."

From that first law which merely directed that able-bodied dependents should be relieved by work, but provided no method of doing it, laws of increasing definiteness directed towards the same end were enacted. In 1562, for instance, persons without property, between the ages of twelve and sixty, might be compelled by two magistrates, or by the mayor with two aldermen, to work on farms, or if they had a trade, to work at that. Thirteen years later a law provided that "stores of wool, hemp, and iron" should be kept ready to provide work for the able-bodied, and refusal to work subjected the pauper to severe punishment.

An Act of 1597 (39 Elizabeth C. 3) was the result of the deliberation of a special committee of the House of Commons, upon which Sir Francis Bacon sat as a member. Among its provisions was one for erecting hospitals and working homes for the poor; but no

ing, cropping the ears, and hanging. When severe laws were found to have no effect, they were supplemented by others of greater severity which were equally ineffectual, and beggary and vagrancy continued and increased. "It was impossible to successfully carry out enactments so essentially adverse to the views then current as to the religious duties of almsgiving so long as the ecclesiastical charities were in existence and were conducted on the principles which then governed them. It is clearly illogical on the one hand to regard almsgiving as a work well-pleasing to God, and on the other to treat asking for alms as a capital crime." (Aschrott, Paul Felix: The English Poor-Law System. London, Knight, 1888.)

working homes seem to have been built. England in the sixteenth century seems to have had the same weakness that is apparent in the United States in the twentieth, of enacting laws which speedily became dead letters on the statute books.

The well known Act, the 43rd Elizabeth, C. 2, in 1601, was in part a codification of the acts of the previous sixty years. It provided for overseers of the poor whose duty was (1) to take measures, with the consent of two justices, for setting to work children whose parents were unable to maintain them; (2) also to set to work persons who, having no means of support, did nothing to earn a living; (3) to raise weekly by taxation of every inhabitant and occupier, such sums as they should think fit—(a) for obtaining a convenient store of flax, hemp, wool, and other necessaries for the poor to work upon; (b) for relieving the lame, impotent, blind, and others unable to work; (c) for putting out poor children as apprentices.

Still the laws about labor were ineffective. In the literature of the period* we often meet with complaints that the poor rates were not regularly paid and that sufficient materials for the employment of the able-bodied were not provided.

In 1646 a pamphlet was published entitled Stanley's Remedy, in which the author complained that people were punished as beggars for not working, while there were no places where they could be employed. The "remedy" proposed was the erection of workhouses, in towns, villages, and other suitable places.

Here we meet for the first time with the workhouse,

* See Eden, Sir Frederick Morton: The State of the Poor. 3 vols. London, 1793. Also Pashley's Pauperism and Poor Laws. London, 1852. These give much information as to the administration of the Act of Elizabeth in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

which has played so important a part in the English relief system as since developed. While the Act of Elizabeth provided only for the establishment of "convenient houses of dwelling" for the impotent poor, the "House" was here indicated as a means of furnishing employment for the able-bodied.

The proposal seems to have met with all the more favor because an Act of Charles II, for the division of parishes into townships, had made it additionally difficult for the smaller districts to provide employment for the able-bodied, and thus hindered the carrying out of the above-named requirement, that they should be "set to work." In a pamphlet published in London in 1687, entitled "Some proposals for the employing of the poor, especially in and about the City of London, and for the prevention of begging," Thomas Firman, a friend of Archbishop Tillotson, recommended the erection of workhouses in which the poor might be occupied with remunerative work in different trades. In 1683, Sir Matthew Hale published a "Discourse touching provision for the Poor," in which he characterized the Act of Elizabeth, with its care for the poor, as "an Act of great civil prudence and political wisdom." He also advocated the erection of workhouses for the able-bodied.

In 1697, under a special Act of Parliament, a workhouse was established in Bristol. The good results which followed in that city, especially in the diminution of mendicancy, led to the adoption of a similar measure in 1703 in Worcester, and in 1707 in Plymouth and other places.

After the workhouse had been successfully tried in particular places, the legislature advanced a step (by the Act 9 Geo. I, C. 7, of 1723) towards securing its

introduction elsewhere. It was ordered that parishes should be entitled, singly or in combination, to build, buy, or hire workhouses, and that any poor person refusing to enter one of such houses should "not be entitled to ask or receive collection or relief."

The improvement in poor law administration by this stringent provision, and indeed by the Act of 1723 generally, is shown by Eden, who points out that, in consequence of this law, a large number of persons who had previously received relief preferred to maintain themselves rather than seek admission to the workhouse. Lord Mansfield in 1782, is quoted as declaring that in parishes where well regulated workhouses had been established under the Act of 1723, the poor rate had diminished one-half. Some result, at any rate of deterrence, was made plain by the steady decrease of the poor rate concurrent with an increase of the population. The expenditure for poor relief, which in 1698 was estimated at 819,000 pounds, had in 1750 sunk to 619,000 pounds.

It is worthy of notice that even at the end of the seventeenth and in the first few years of the eighteenth century, notwithstanding its apparent good results, the system of employing able-bodied men in the workhouse or, as it was then called, the "Industrial House," met with some opposition. Daniel Defoe attacked it in his "Giving Alms no Charity and Employment of the Poor a Grievance to the Nation" (London, 1704). He pointed out the effect of the competition of the Industrial Houses with the trades already established: "If they will employ the poor in some manufacture which was not made in England before, or not bought with some manufacture made here before, then they offer something extraordinary. But to set poor people

at work on the same thing that other people were employed on before, and at the same time not increase the consumption, is giving to one what you take away from another." Defoe's argument has a very familiar sound. It reminds us of some of the objections to the economic labor of prisoners.

So far in its history, and up to the passage of what was called Gilbert's Act in 1788, the workhouse deserved its name. At least in theory, it was a place for work. The new law provided for the union of parishes for the purpose of giving relief in common and for the erection of a poorhouse. It also introduced the system of paid guardians of the poor, who should be appointed by the justices* (the unpaid "justices of the peace" of England, of whom we so often hear in various connections), so leaving to the overseers only the work of assessing and collecting the poor rate. It also provided for "visitors" who were to inspect the poorhouse, for the regulation of which the act went into minute detail. Two years later an act put the inspection of poorhouses upon the justices, and gave them other authority, even to the extent of revising, amending, or annulling a poor rate assessed by the overseers.

* It is difficult to understand the powers given to the justices of the peace in England in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, unless we remember that they were invariably members of the governing classes, the gentry or aristocracy. The squire, the rector, the lord of the manor, were appointed justices by the Crown, but were neither paid for their services nor held to a very strict account for their acts. They held court when and where they pleased, meeting for more serious cases in the Court of Quarter Sessions, but judging petty offenses at their convenience. As they were usually the heaviest taxpayers, at least in country districts, their powers of revision of assessments must have been a source of temptation. As they were usually game preservers, it is not to be wondered at that they were inclined to treat poachers rather as personal offenders against themselves than as lawbreakers. Fortunately most of them were educated men who had a high conception of their duty to the country and their responsibility to their own tenants.

Gilbert's Act was, like a great deal of British legislation, of a tentative nature. It was not compulsory. It was left to the individual districts to determine whether to adopt it and so avail themselves of its provisions. The adoption of the act in any parish or union of parishes depended on the assent of two-thirds of the persons assessed to the poor rate, either as owners or occupiers, of property having a yearly value of five pounds and upwards; provided that their united assessments amounted to two-thirds of the total assessment of the parish or union of parishes. The provisions of the act were extended by subsequent acts and the number of so-called "Gilbert's incorporations" amounted, in the year 1834, to 67, and embraced 924 parishes. It would not seem after all to have been very popular, as far as the creation of unions at least, since in 1834, it is claimed, there were 15,535 parishes in England.

The provisions of Gilbert's Act, however, had very important results with regard to the kind of relief to be given as well as with regard to the workhouse or poorhouse as an institution. Gilbert's "poorhouse" was not, like the workhouse of the year 1723, an industrial institution, but was specially designed for the reception of old and sick persons, of mothers with illegitimate offspring and of children incapable of work. In direct contravention of the Act of 1723, the able-bodied poor were not to be brought in, but the guardians were to find them work near their own houses and their wages were to be made to *contribute to their maintenance;* in other words (and this was the feature that worked most evil, directly and by its consequences, of any poor-relief law that was ever enacted), *an insufficient wage of an able-bodied man was to be supplemented by poor relief.*

The results of this principle which first appeared in Gilbert's Act, have made English poor relief notorious wherever study has been made of the science or history of charity. The so-called "Speenhamland Act" (really a decision of some Berkshire justices), which equalized the wage of every man by adding from the poor rates the amount it fell short of the adopted minimum requirement according to the size of his family, was one of these results. Another was the inevitable lowering of wages, of quality and quantity of work, and of worth and character of the laborer.

The poorhouse reached its maximum of evil after Gilbert's Act was generally adopted (it was not necessary to form a "union" in order to have a poorhouse), and no considerable change of principles occurred, except as certain parishes, under enlightened administration, rose above the average, until after the report of the Royal Commission of 1834. What that Commission found is told on another page.*

The Commission of 1832–1834 recommended that every union should have a "*workhouse*"—all parishes being grouped into unions. Here was to be the mainspring of reform, in administration.

The workhouse was to supply work for the able-bodied and board and lodging for all. Humanity demanded that those unable to maintain themselves should be adequately supported. On the other hand, public interest required that such support should not destroy the sense of independence of the worker. The position and condition of the pauper must be made "*less desirable than that of the poorest self-supporting laborer.*" No other than workhouse relief should

* See Appendix I, page 141, Report of the British Commission on Poor Laws.

be granted, so that the bad influence of the former method of relief, which had injured the minds, habits, and morals of the working classes, should be in future avoided. The laborer would thus be inspired even to provide for his old age. The workhouses would soon be such that only really destitute persons would seek relief in them. This would be the only and infallible test of real need.

The severity of the above pronouncements was, however, softened by other provisions. The Commission urged most strongly that the various classes be kept separate, that the feeble and aged should have different treatment from the strong, that the sick and the children should be kept in separate institutions from the rest. They deplored as much as their successors of 1909, the evils of the mixed workhouse.

The New Reformed Poor Law of 1834 went into effect. It did not enact all that the Commission suggested. It did provide for workhouses, but it omitted the separation of classes, merely providing that the insane and idiots were to be excluded. In many respects the act fell short of the Report.

APPENDIX III

COUNTY HOSPITALS

Extract from Minutes of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1905 *

W. A. Gates of San Francisco, Secretary of the California State Board of Charities, said as follows:

"We have a large system of county hospitals, as we call them, in the state of California. The hospital in California answers the double purpose of a hospital and an almshouse. We have many sick and injured poor, and they are sent to the county hospital for treatment. Also the poor who become permanently dependent are there as indigents or paupers. Some of the larger counties have two separate institutions: one a county hospital and the other a county almshouse. I am sorry to say that we have large numbers, more than we ought to have, of inmates in our county almshouses, but I am not prepared to say that they are not genuine cases. I believe that conditions are such as to force upon us in California more paupers to be cared for in county institutions than is really our proportion in comparison with other states. Very valuable use is made of the county hospital in California as a place for the temporarily sick or injured, and some of these hospitals are doing very effective work. We have a

* Proceedings of National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1905, p. 594.

corps of nurses and in some of the county hospitals we have schools for nurses. In one institution especially, the hospital at San Diego, there are two trained nurses and eight girls who are learning to be nurses. In connection with this institution there are twenty single rooms where those of the middle class, those who wish the dollar-a-day hospital, for instance, can go and be accommodated, and the amount of money received from all patients at this hospital has run as high as $200 a month. It is enough on the average through the year to pay for all the cost of the nursing force. I think this is a very good thing, and hope to see it increase. There are other county hospitals almost as good as the one I have spoken of.

"Now as to some of the statistics. On the first of last January we had 2,899 paupers in the hospitals, of whom only 347, or about one-tenth, are women. Almost all of the males in the hospital are old bachelors, so that you see the women of California have been able to maintain themselves, and keep out of the county poorhouses, and those of them who have gotten married have been able to keep their husbands out. The conclusion is evident to the unmarried man.

"In the number of sick who passed through our county hospitals last year there were about 14,000 entered and about 12,000 discharged, the discharged including very largely the temporary sick, although we have no means of distinguishing as far as hospital records are concerned."

APPENDIX IV

AVERAGE NUMBER OF INMATES IN ALMSHOUSES OF TEN STATES

An attempt is made here to give some approximate idea of the numbers in almshouses of ten states which may be taken as fairly typical of the different parts of the country. The figures are taken from the reports of the boards of state charities, and are grouped so as to convey a better impression of the proportion of inmates in institutions of the different sizes than would be shown by taking the actual average of all institutions in each state.

	Number of Institutions	*Highest Number*	*Lowest Number*	*Average*
CALIFORNIA				
County hospitals * .	5	400	209	278.0
	5	184	108	134.0
	31	96	26	47.4
	16	25	4	14.7
CONNECTICUT				
Town almshouses . .	1	. .	. .	995.0
	1	. .	. .	596.0
	3	259	173	234.0
	3	112	87	101.0
	10	67	30	40.0
	69	24	1	7.4

* See Appendix III, page 158, County Hospitals.

APPENDIX IV

	Number of Institutions	*Highest Number*	*Lowest Number*	*Average*
ILLINOIS				
County poorhouses	1	..	..	3644*
	10	197	76	112.0
	32	73	27	45.1
	56	25	5	13.2
INDIANA				
County asylums ..	1	..	..	179.0
	1	..	..	132.0
	48	94	26	43.5
	42	25	3	16.3
MASSACHUSETTS				
City almshouse	1	..	..	1011.0
Town almshouses .	9	408	113	195.0
	20	89	27	41.9
	199	25	1	6.2
NEW HAMPSHIRE†				
County almshouses	6	312	141	245.5
	4	91	42	63.0
NEW YORK				
City almshouses ..	1	..	..	2633.0
	1	..	..	1695.0
	15	308	117	167.2
	5	64	39	49.2
County almshouses.	1	..	..	716.0
	4	411	330	362.2
	36	99	31	64.0

* This includes 1935 in the insane asylum and 303 in the tuberculosis sanatorium, each of which is a part of the poorhouse.

† See Appendix VIII, page 198, County Houses of Correction in New Hampshire.

	Number of Institutions	Highest Number	Lowest Number	Average
NORTH CAROLINA				
County houses.....	12	82	28	38.0
	57	25	1	11.0
PENNSYLVANIA				
City almshouse....	1	..	..	4173.0*
	1	..	..	805.0
	6	581	317	461.2
County almshouses.	24	235	101	162.0
	24	98	29	64.6
	22	19	1	8.7
VIRGINIA				
City almshouses ...	1	..	..	253.0
	1	..	..	144.0
	1	..	..	77.0†
Almshouses.....	23	50	20	28.0
	27	19	10	13.4
	50	10	1	5.0

* Including insane.

† Including 33 in hospital department.

APPENDIX V

A. THE INDIANA LAW GOVERNING COUNTY ASYLUMS (ALMSHOUSES)

From the Indiana Statutes of 1899

AN ACT to regulate the management of county asylums for the poor, defining the method of appointing superintendents and other officers, defining certain duties of the commissioners of the counties, prescribing the method of purchasing supplies and selling products, the discipline and employment of inmates, and other matters pertaining thereto, and repealing all laws or parts of laws in conflict therewith.

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, That it shall be the duty of the Board of County Commissioners in each county of Indiana, not later than the second Monday of June next after the taking effect of this act to appoint a superintendent of the county asylum, who will serve for two years from the 1st day of September next ensuing unless sooner removed for cause as prescribed in a subsequent section of this act; subsequent appointments on expiration of terms or on vacancies caused by resignation, shall be for two-year terms, ending on August 31 of any year. Each superintendent appointed according to the terms of this act shall receive such annual salary, in addition to quarters and board for himself and family in the county asylums, as shall be fixed by the said Board of County Commissioners. Provided, That in any county where there may have been a superintendent of a county asylum appointed on a contract extending beyond the date aforesaid, namely, September 1,

next following the first Monday in June after this act becomes of effect, then the appointment under the provision of this act shall commence at the expiration of aforesaid contract, and shall be for a term of so much less than two years as the period that the said contract runs after aforesaid September 1. In appointing a superintendent of the poor asylum, the commissioners shall select a reputable citizen of good moral character, kind and humane disposition, good executive ability, who has had a good common school education and is a skilled and experienced farmer. No considerations other than character, competence and fitness shall be allowed to actuate the commissioners in selecting, continuing or discharging any superintendent or other officer.

SEC. 2. The Board of County Commissioners of each county shall prescribe such rules and regulations as may, in their judgment, be necessary for the management of the asylum for the poor. With the advice and assistance of the superintendent of the county poor asylum they shall regulate the number and fix the compensation of such matrons, assistants, nurses, attendants, farmers, seamstresses, laborers, or other employes as may be needed for the care and control of the asylum. They may remove the superintendent from office, at any time, but only for cause, which cause shall be entered in the record book of the commissioners' court. In all cases the terms of the superintendents of county asylums who shall be appointed pursuant to this act, shall end on the thirty-first day of August.

SEC. 3. The superintendent shall appoint such matrons, assistants, nurses, farmers, laborers, or other employes as shall be needed for the work of the asylum. The superintendent may remove and dismiss any officer or employe whom he shall have appointed at any time, which removal he shall report in writing to the Board of County Commissioners at their next regular meeting. It shall be his duty to promptly remove any officer or employe who shall be guilty of drunkenness, profane or abusive language in the presence of the inmates, cruelty to the inmates, lewdness or any other offense against

the laws of Indiana or against public decency. No political, family or other improper influence shall be allowed to actuate the superintendent in appointing or dismissing any subordinate officer or employe, but considerations of character, merit and competence shall be the sole and only reason for any such appointment or dismissal.

SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of the superintendent of the county poor asylum to manage the asylum and its farm to the best interests of the county. He shall maintain order and discipline, he shall assign a reasonable amount of labor to every inmate who is able to perform the same, and no inmate shall be excused from labor, except for cause, by the superintendent or by the county physician, but such excuse by the physician shall be for a definite time, except in the case of aged paupers, over seventy years of age, or of cripples or persons suffering from incurable disease or from any other physical or mental disability which unfits them for labor, to whom a permanent excuse may be given by the physician. All inmates refusing to perform the task assigned them by the superintendent, may be dismissed from the asylum by him, and can only be readmitted within the period of six weeks after such dismissal, with the consent of the superintendent, or upon an order from an overseer of the poor, which shall have been endorsed by the chairman of the Board of County Commissioners. The superintendent shall carefully observe the rules and regulations prescribed by the County Commissioners and shall further be guided by suggestions which may be made to him by the Board of State Charities and by the Board of County Charities and Correction in counties where the same shall exist. He shall make such reports from time to time to the County Commissioners as they may order, and shall make such reports to the Board of State Charities as shall be required by them.

SEC. 5. On or before the Thursday preceding the first Monday in March, June, September and December of each year, the superintendent of the county asylum shall file with the county auditor an estimate of the supplies of meats,

groceries, dry goods, fuel, house furnishings and other material for the subsistence of the inmates and the maintenance of the asylum, needed to be purchased for the county poor asylum during the subsequent three (3) months. The auditor shall thereupon divide the estimate for supplies under appropriate headings and shall submit the same to the inspection of the Board of County Commissioners during their regular session not later than the first Thursday after the first Monday in March, June, September and December of each year. The commissioners shall at once inspect the estimates and make such amendments thereto as they may deem necessary. Said estimates shall be open during the session of the commissioners' court and thereafter for the inspection of any citizen. The auditor, not later than the first Monday in March, June, September and December of each year, shall give notice by advertisement in at least one paper published at the county seat that the estimates will be on file in his office and shall request bids for contracts for furnishing the needed supplies for the period of three months. The day for receiving such bids shall be fixed in said advertisement, but not earlier than ten days after the first of said publication. Bids received for supplies of materials needed for the asylum shall be opened by the commissioners in open court and contracts shall be awarded to the lowest responsible bidders. The bids received shall be endorsed by the auditor as accepted or rejected, and shall be preserved on file in the auditor's office and be subject to the inspection of any citizen. The auditor shall notify each successful bidder of the acceptance of his bid, and thereupon a contract for the same shall be duly executed: Provided, That the Board of Commissioners may reject any and all bids and may again advertise for bids in the manner above described. The commissioners in their discretion, may demand a bond from the successful bidders conditioned upon the fulfillment of their contracts, with such sureties as the commissioners may deem advisable. On fulfillment of the aforesaid contracts, bills for the supplies purchased shall be presented to the auditor by those to whom payment is due, which bills

shall be examined by the superintendent of the poor asylum and the auditor, when if found correct they shall be attested by the signature of the superintendent of the county poor asylum, certifying that the supplies therein specified have been received by him and have been of the quality contracted for, and by the signature of the auditor certifying that the prices and quantities agree with the contracts on file in his office for the same. The bills so certified shall be presented by the auditor to the commissioners, who shall examine the same, and if they approve them they shall make allowances for the amounts and order the issue of warrants in the manner prescribed by law for the allowance and payment of claims against the county by County Commissioners. The superintendent by order of the commissioners and under their direction may from time to time purchase such live stock, implements and other supplies to be used in farming as shall be needed upon the county farm. Claims for payment of the same shall be made in open court upon sworn statements of the claimants, certified as correct by the superintendent of the county poor asylum, and when found correct they shall be approved by the commissioners and warrants shall be drawn in the manner prescribed by law. The purchases authorized by this section shall be made in the manner that other supplies are required to be purchased for the county, and claims therefor shall be allowed in the same manner that other claims against the county are allowed.

SEC. 6. Whenever there shall be any produce of the county farm which shall not be needed for the subsistence of the inmates, the superintendent shall report the same to the County Commissioners, who in their discretion shall order the superintendent to sell the same in such a manner and at such a time as to produce the best return of money to the county. The superintendent after making any such sale shall collect the money and deposit the same with the county treasurer, who shall give him a receipt for the amount. The superintendent shall immediately thereafter report the transaction to the auditor and shall file with him the treasurer's receipt for the

money and shall take a quietus from the auditor for the same. All transactions regarding the sale of surplus products from the asylum farm shall be reported by the superintendent to the commissioners in open court and the same, with the names of the purchasers, description and quantity of the articles sold, date of sale and price received, shall be entered upon the commissioners' record.

SEC. 7. Wherever there shall be organized a County Council in any county in this State, it is hereby declared that the authority conferred by this act to pay officers and employes of such asylums and to pay for materials and supplies of every sort therefor, shall be, and the same is hereby strictly limited to the extent of specific appropriations of money made in advance by such County Council upon estimates furnished. No obligation or liability of any sort shall be incurred by any officer on behalf of said county unless the same shall fall within the appropriation specifically made for the purpose. Any undertakings or agreements contrary to the provisions of this section are declared to be absolutely void and no action shall be maintained against the county thereon.

SEC. 8. All laws and parts of laws inconsistent with this act are hereby repealed.

B. REMARKS ON THE INDIANA LAW*

SECTION 1.—APPOINTMENT OF SUPERINTENDENT. Previous to the enactment of this law it had been the custom in many counties of the state, for the county commissioners to appoint an asylum (almshouse) superintendent annually. The method of appointment was by advertisement for bids to do the work, and in many cases the lowest bidder was appointed, although he might be poorly qualified. It is, however, fair to say that, in most cases, a successful superintendent was re-appointed year after year unless there had been a

* Written by the author of the law.

political change in the board, in which case the appointment, with rare exceptions, went to a member of the winning party. The new law requires the superintendent to be appointed for two years, and the salary to be fixed by the commissioners. The appointment is to be made ten weeks ahead of its taking effect. This is so that the new superintendent, who is necessarily a farmer, may have time to adjust his other affairs without loss. The date, September 1st, was chosen for the commencement of a new superintendent's term, because in Indiana that is the best date for beginning a year's farming operations. The ground for the winter wheat crop is usually plowed in September, all the crops of the closing year are then made, and only certain root and fruit crops, and the corn crop, remain to be harvested. The regulations as to fitness of appointee being decided by the commissioners, seem to have worked well in practice.

SEC. 2. This provides that the commissioners shall decide on the number of help to be employed and their compensation, but this does not allow subordinates to be appointed by commissioners. Provision is also made for the removal of a superintendent for cause. No trial is provided for in such case, but the commissioners are held responsible. The publicity given to the act of removal and its causes, by its being made a matter of public record, is considered to be sufficient safeguard against removal for improper reasons.

SEC. 3. The superintendent being held responsible for the acts of his subordinates is therefore given full authority over them. If their conduct is unsatisfactory he does not suspend them, but must discharge, but he must report the case in full to the commissioners to whom he is responsible. The warning

against improper influences in appointments, which appears in the first section, is here repeated with respect to the superintendent's appointments.

SEC. 4. The regulations as to labor of inmates and re-admission and dismissal are valuable.

SEC. 5. Purchase of supplies on competitive bids in a public manner is made obligatory. A sample of a requisition follows.* It will be noticed that in all the business transactions of the county, the safeguard of publicity is arranged for. The legislature apparently believed that, if the full light of publicity would not deter from improper action, no ingenious scheme of safeguard against such action would be successful.

* See Appendix XIII, page 223.

APPENDIX VI

THE FUNCTION OF THE ALMSHOUSE *

Extract from a Paper read by Mary Vida Clark at the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1900 †

The chief reason why the almshouse fails to interest us is that we do not understand it; and we do not understand it because we regard it too much by itself, and out of its relation to other branches of public charity, and also too much as it is, and out of its relation to its past and its future. One who knows only the almshouse does not know the almshouse very well; and one who knows only the almshouse of one period hardly knows the almshouse at all.

But one who truly knows one almshouse knows every almshouse. Wherever found, it is practically the same institution. Apparent differences may be great; real differences are slight. It is an institution which is undergoing a process of evolution. Different almshouses exemplify different stages of this evolution.

In some cases, certain stages are shortened or omitted

* Throughout this paper the word "almshouse" is used, not according to its broad, legal definition, as any charitable institution, whether public or private, where the poor are maintained, but according to the generally accepted American usage of the word, synonymous with poorhouse, a public institution maintained by the county, the city, or the town for public dependents.

† Proceedings National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1900, p. 146.

altogether; in others, so unduly extended that the despairing onlookers think there will never be any onward movement. Possibly there may not be, unless the onlookers get down and push. Science recognizes such a thing as arrested development, not to mention reversion to a more primitive type.

To explain the circumstances which determine this almshouse individuality and which justify this view of the oneness of the institution would lead us too far afield. For the purposes of a short paper it is perhaps sufficient to accept the view that the almshouse is everywhere one and the same, under whatever name and at whatever age we find it. If this is true, then any individual almshouse may be helped by the experience of any other; and a principle which is applicable to one is applicable to all. Starting with this theory of the almshouse, we can perhaps make some progress towards answering the various questions that arise regarding the proper organization of such an institution.

The fundamental question on which any discussion of our subject must be based is, What is the function of the almshouse? What is its place in the general scheme of public indoor relief? Or, in a more simple and concrete form, Who belongs in the almshouse? In its first stage of development the almshouse is a sort of public dumping ground for all classes of dependents and defectives and for some classes of delinquents. Herded together are to be found children, idiots, epileptics, the insane, the feeble-minded, the deaf and dumb, the blind, the sick, tramps and vicious persons, and the respectable aged poor. Gradually, certain of these classes are wholly or partly removed and provided for elsewhere. According to what principle is this done?

How is it decided which of all these various persons do not properly belong in the almshouse and which do belong there?

There are many things which determine what sort of work an almshouse can do. Chief among these is the character of the official at its head. So long as the local officers having charge of the administration of public charity are elected for short terms by popular vote, and are chosen for qualities which have little to do with the requirements of the position they are to occupy, it cannot be expected that their work will be done according to scientific principles. Whatever heights of excellency any individual almshouse may attain under the temporary administration of any individual superintendent, the ordinary and normal management of the institution must be regarded as indifferent. Consequently, only such work should be required of the almshouse as can reasonably be expected of it under the administration of any ordinary citizen, with common sense and good intentions probably, but without professional training or experience. Classes of dependents requiring special scientific treatment of any sort are not, therefore, proper almshouse inmates.

Another thing which determines the work of the almshouse is its size. Except when connected with a large city, it is ordinarily a small institution, containing on an average probably less than a hundred inmates. Any classes of dependents, therefore, who cannot properly and economically be cared for in small numbers, are not suitable almshouse inmates.

Still another and a more widely recognized disability of the almshouse comes from the fact that it is an open institution, where confinement is supposed to be volun-

tary, and so cannot provide for persons who are properly prisoners and should be kept under lock and key.

Our principle of exclusion, then, covers three classes of persons: those requiring special scientific treatment, those who cannot properly and economically be cared for in small numbers, and those who must be confined against their will.

Taking up the last first, it is obvious that the almshouse is no place for prisoners. The most elementary classification of the dependent classes distinguishes between those who are merely dependent and those who are also delinquent. The practice of accommodating tramps and of actually receiving by commitment of the courts, disorderly persons, which is still prevalent in most states, though in many there is other provision for such cases, cannot be upheld by any argument from either theory or experience. In states where there are no intermediate institutions between the jail and the almshouse, where the workhouse and the reformatory have not yet been established, cases frequently arise in which less harm seems to be done by committing the offender to the almshouse than by sending him to jail; but the incomplete equipment of such states for dealing with delinquents is no argument for putting the almshouse to penal uses. More advanced states provide for the commitment of tramps, vagrants, and disorderly persons to penitentiaries, workhouses, or reformatories.

After delinquents have been excluded, there remains a miscellaneous population from which certain classes stand out as in need of special treatment of a more or less scientific nature; education for all children, including those who are feeble-minded, blind, deaf, and dumb; scientific care and, so far as possible, curative

treatment for the insane, the epileptic and the sick; custodial care for feeble-minded adults and idiots. The almshouse school cannot properly educate the normal child, much less the defective. The almshouse doctor, commonly a general practitioner in country districts, is not fitted to treat insanity, epilepsy, and other diseases which are now regarded as the province of trained specialists; and the open-door system of almshouse management cannot insure proper restraint of the feeble-minded and the idiotic.

In those states in which public charity has reached an advanced stage of development, all these classes of dependents are cared for in separate institutions especially suited to their different needs. It is impossible within the limits of a short paper to enter into the different methods of caring for all of these various classes of dependents, but a few words may be said about each.

The dangers of subjecting children to the influences of almshouse life were early realized. The imitative instinct is so strongly developed in all children that the character of their environment during their impressionable early years is of the utmost importance, and it is generally felt that the surest way to raise a generation of paupers is to rear children in almshouses. Most states in the Union make it illegal to receive and retain in almshouses children who are past the age of babyhood. But there are still many states, especially in the South, where this abuse has not been corrected by law. Some states, especially in the West, maintain public institutions for children, in which they are kept temporarily, and from which they are either returned to their relatives or placed out in family homes by adoption, indenture, or some other form of agreement.

Other states leave the care of destitute children largely to private charitable societies, with or without assistance from the public treasury.

While it is possible for the state to prohibit the admission and retention of normal children in almshouses, even without making other provision for them, but relying upon private charity to take the initiative in providing for them, defective children can hardly be excluded with the same assurance that private aid will be forthcoming. Consequently, most states have early established educational institutions for the blind and the deaf and dumb of teachable age, while leaving the almshouses open to them in addition. Few such children are to be found in almshouses, however, unless they have more than one defect, and in addition to being blind and deaf, are feeble-minded, epileptic, or crippled. Provision for the education of the mentally defective has been made more slowly, and the majority of the states are still unprovided with public institutions for feeble-minded children.

Proper provision for adult defectives has made little more than a beginning in this country. All blind and deaf and dumb persons cannot be made self-dependent; and, as industrial competition grows keener, the difficulties will increase. It is a hardship for people of these classes who have undergone a course of training in a state institution to return to the almshouse. There are a considerable number of private institutions for the adult blind, and it is to be hoped that private effort will provide more completely for both blind and deaf-mute adults.

The condition of the idiotic and the adult feeble-minded is even more unfortunate. The danger of allowing feeble-minded women to be at large, or even

to live under the loose restraint of an almshouse, seems to be little realized as yet. New York and New Jersey, appreciating that the best way to cut off the supply of defective children, is to prevent defective women from becoming mothers, established some fifteen years ago institutions for the custodial care of such women. It is a hardship for the respectable inmates of an almshouse to be associated in the same institution with idiotic and feeble-minded persons. The almshouse is not equipped to care for and restrain such inmates, and there is consequent suffering on the part of the defectives themselves. The safest, most humane, and economical way of caring for idiots is to take them from almshouses and segregate them in large numbers in state institutions. New York was the first to establish such an institution for idiots, but as yet there are three times as many eligible cases outside as inside. In most states they are either left in the almshouses or allowed to remain in the institutions for feeble-minded youth.

There is probably no class of dependents, except children, for whom almshouse care is more generally considered improper than for the insane. Experience has shown that the almshouse is incapable of providing for the insane the skilled medical attention, trained nursing, attractive environment, and intelligent direction of work and play which are essential to the cure, and desirable in the care of such patients. With some honorable exceptions the almshouse system, when followed, has proved a miserable failure, and the cause of much unnecessary suffering both to the insane and to the sane inmates of a mixed institution. While some of the more enlightened states retain a mixed system of state and county or town care,—state care for the supposedly curable and county or town care for

the supposedly incurable,—many states, especially in the West, and such states in the East as New York,—which has nearly one-fifth of the total insane population of the United States,—have a system of complete state cure and state maintenance, which is probably the best system which has yet been devised for the care of this unfortunate class.

Epileptics are beginning to secure a recognition of their claims to treatment apart from the insane, the feeble-minded, and ordinary almshouse inmates. The fact that epileptics need special treatment has been proved by the wonderful results which have been obtained when they have been given such treatment. The cures achieved in many of the cases, and the great improvement made in nearly all which have been treated by special institutions, as well as the large extent to which epileptics can contribute to their own support when properly directed, should be an encouragement to all states to establish hospitals or colonies for this class of dependents. It is obviously a hardship to retain epileptics in almshouses, where they have no opportunities for improvement, and where their presence is a source of disgust and danger to other inmates.

In addition to these nervous diseases there are hospital cases of various sorts which cannot receive proper treatment in an almshouse. Ordinary contagious diseases have nearly always been excluded; but that most prevalent of contagious diseases—consumption—has been freely admitted. In view of the modern opinion as to the nature of this disease, some few states are establishing separate institutions for its treatment. Massachusetts already has its state sanitarium; and New York is about to establish a similar institution

for the treatment of incipient cases, while provision has been made for the establishment of local institutions for persons in more advanced stages of the disease. It is, of course, inhuman to subject ordinary almshouse inmates to the danger of contracting pulmonary tuberculosis, and the surest way to provide against such contagion is to isolate those affected in a separate institution.*

Cases of acute diseases are not generally treated in almshouses, and cannot properly be treated in such a place. In localities where there are public hospitals or private hospitals to which patients can be sent at public expense, these agencies are commonly used, and should be used whenever possible. In rural districts, where outdoor relief is given, the sick are generally treated in their own homes.

A class of cases which is too frequently received at almshouses is confinement cases. Such should be sent, whenever possible, to a hospital or placed in the care of private charity. A young woman is not benefited by almshouse life, and it is unfortunate that any child should have the almshouse stigma attached to its birth and infancy.

That any or all of the above classes of dependents cannot continuously receive proper care and treatment in an almshouse is obvious to anyone who studies the history of almshouse experiments along these lines. But, even if such work could be done properly by an almshouse, it could not be done also economically. To run an almshouse properly, when it has an assorted population of all kinds and conditions of dependents and defectives, would require in the superintendent

* This was written in 1900, before the great development in the care and treatment of tuberculosis.

a combination of special qualifications which no one human being could possibly possess, and would require an amount of money which no almshouse ever received honestly from the public treasury. A single almshouse with a miscellaneous population has not a sufficient number of inmates of any one class for purposes of classification; and either each individual must be put in a class by itself or a rough average must be struck, which probably will not secure just the right sort of care for any individual. Medical superintendents of hospitals for the insane say that proper classification of their patients demands about ten wards for each sex. A reformatory generally divides its inmates into at least four classes. The feeble-minded, idiotic, epileptic, and other defectives also require careful grading; and only large numbers make this possible without excessive expense. The welfare of the inmates themselves, the safety of society, and the economy of public money demand the segregation of each of these classes of defectives in separate institutions under skilled management.

If all the different classes of dependents and defectives who are in need of special treatment, which cannot, under ordinary conditions, be properly furnished in the almshouse, are provided for outside the almshouse, who then remains in the almshouse? Clearly, only those aged and infirm persons who are unable to support themselves and are without relatives to support them. To meet their needs, an institution should be something between a hospital and a home. The word which perhaps best conveys the idea is the Ohio name,—infirmary.

APPENDIX VII

A. CLASSIFICATION IN ALMSHOUSES

Extract from the Report of the British Royal Commission

Among much that is condemnatory of the British workhouses it is gratifying to find the following (pp. 329–331 of the Minority Report):

"We have to express our appreciation of the admirable provision for the aged deserving poor now made, according to this policy [a policy expressed in certain orders of the Local Government Board which had been quoted above], by certain Unions, the Boards of Guardians of which have definitely adopted the policy of allowing, to their selected class of deserving destitute aged, Outdoor Relief of 5s. a week for each person. The assumption, at any rate, is that no such person will ever be forced to accept indoor relief. If the aged person is unable to get properly taken care of, or for any other reason prefers to come inside, he or she is maintained in comfortably furnished apartments, separate from the general mixed workhouse; sometimes (as at Dewsbury and Birmingham) in a distinct block; sometimes (as at Woolwich) in a separate house quite away from the workhouse premises; sometimes (as at Bradford) in a quadrangle of separate tenements; or (as at Sheffield) in a row of cottages, each with two inmates. They have often each a room to themselves, or at least (as at Birmingham) a cubicle, furnished with

carpet, chair, and dressing-table with drawers underneath. Sometimes (as at Nottingham) 'afternoon tea' is served at 4 p. m. Dinners are usually cooked in a common kitchen and served in common in a separate dining room, but the old people may often prepare their other meals for themselves, over their own fires. They have tea, sugar, tobacco and snuff served out to them weekly, to be used when they like. They have comfortable, non-distinctive clothing provided for them, or they may retain their own; and they may receive visits in their own apartments and come and go during the daytime at their will. They are sometimes allowed to retain pet animals, and to cultivate their own little gardens. They may receive and retain for themselves any gifts from friends, other than alcoholic drink. 'They get up when they like and go to bed as they please.' They need do no work unless they choose, but if they desire to do so, they are provided with 'congenial' employment, 'suited to their age and capacity.' With the one exception that no pocket-money is provided for them, and subject to this one drawback that, disguise it as we may, the inmates of these comfortable quarters for the aged are, owing to their being under the Destitution Authority, legally stigmatised as paupers, the small and highly selected class of deserving aged have, in these few Unions where the new policy of the Local Government Board has been fully adopted, as good conditions as could possibly be desired.

"It is to the credit of the Destitution Authorities of Scotland that, with the cognizance of the Local Government Board for Scotland, they have for the most part long adopted an equally generous policy with regard to the deserving aged. In one respect they have

even gone farther than the most up-to-date of the English Boards of Guardians. They have combined the provision of agreeable quarters with Outdoor Relief. In the comfortable cottages, or in the old villa residences that are termed, in some Scotch parishes, 'Parochial Homes,' we ourselves found the deserving aged inmates, not only enjoying the furnished lodgings, free firing, and attendance that is provided, but receiving in addition, to dispense as they think fit, their 'aliment' of three or four shillings a week. They may, if they choose, hand their money, or any part of it, to the salaried housekeeper, to provide their meals with; or they may, if they prefer, make any or all of their purchases for themselves, and cook their own meals over their own fires in their own way. This appears to us the best thing that has yet been done in the way of public provision for the aged. We can only regret that this policy of discrimination and generous treatment of the deserving aged has been extended, in England (owing to the inability of the Local Government Board to overcome in most places the almost inevitable reluctance of a Destitution Authority to provide anything beyond the barest subsistence), to only an insignificant minority of the deserving and aged."

B. COTTAGE HOMES AS PARTS OF THE ALMSHOUSE

The following very interesting report on the application of the policy of the British Local Government Board is taken from the Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction of 1905:

THE FIRVALE UNION COTTAGE HOMES AND CLASSIFICATION OF PUBLIC DEPENDENTS *

By Mrs. Alice N. Lincoln, Boston, Mass.

The Firvale Union Cottage Homes afford a unique experiment in regard to the comforts which may be provided for the aged and deserving poor who are dependent. The special advantages of these Homes were called to my attention several years ago by a member of the London County Council, and it was my privilege to visit them on July 2nd, 1904. I found that much of the progressive policy which has been adopted at the Firvale Union is due to the interest of the board of guardians, consisting of twenty-four members, and especially to the chairman of the board, Mr. Wilson, who, as an ex-mayor of the city of Sheffield, and brother of a member of Parliament, has naturally much influence, and devotes a great deal of time to the institution and its needs.

Persons entering the Union are classified on entrance by the relief officer subject to the relief committee of the board of guardians. The classification therefore depends upon the conduct and standing of individuals while members of the community, and not upon their conduct as inmates of the institution, although inmates can be changed from one class to another, subsequent to admission. This method of classification on entrance may have certain advantages, because it eliminates the element of jealousy, so likely to arise when one inmate is selected or favored rather than another. It presupposes, however, a large amount of knowledge and discretion on the part of the relief officer, and puts a

* Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1905, p. 403.

dangerous amount of power into his hands if he is subject (as he would be in this country) to political conditions and pressure.

The cottage homes of Sheffield are distinctive, and have one great advantage over other similar buildings elsewhere, in that they form part of, and are connected with the main institution, although actually they are separated from it.

The block consists of eight cottages, built in a row, and resembling a short street of one-story houses. These houses face on a green, and command a fine view. They have separate entrances on the front. On the rear, these one-room cottages open on a corridor, where there are two bathrooms, an exit to the garden, and stairs in the center, leading to an upper floor where the caretaker and his wife reside. By this arrangement the inmates of the cottages have their privacy secured to them, and yet are under a certain amount of supervision, so necessary for old and feeble people. They can use the corridor for exercise on rainy days, and all the plumbing arrangements are under the observation of an officer, yet the clean, tidy little homes are individual, quite as much as if they were really detached houses. It is partly a segregate and partly a congregate way of living.

Two inmates occupy each cottage, and the rooms are intended for aged couples, two solitary women, or two solitary men, as the case may be. I found examples of each, living in great comfort (and one very friendly old couple told me they had spent forty years on a house-boat).

Each room or cottage is sufficiently spacious, the dimensions being 11 x 14 feet, and each has a pretty window facing the green in front of the house. There

is an open fire-place in every room, in which a fire was brightly burning, and the inmates make their own tea, and prepare their breakfast and supper on the coal grates. Their dinner is sent from the institution. The furniture of each room consists of single beds for men and women, or a double bed for couples; a table, a pretty bureau, chairs, etc. There is tasteful paper on the walls, curtains are hung at the windows, and a cheerful and homelike air pervades the whole establishment. The people seem content, and expressed satisfaction. They were distinctly of the class that has seen better days.

The inmates do their own house work, although I understood that some assistance is rendered the old people by workers from the institution. They take care of their own premises, and coal is furnished them, in bins. A garden for vegetables for their use is cultivated by the caretaker, who is also the shoemaker of the institution.

The corridor connecting all the cottages in the rear has a slate floor, and is light and well adapted for exercise.

A statement of the classification of inmates in this Union is appended, and the question naturally arises, whether such a plan could be successfully adopted in America, where class distinctions are less customary than in Europe. Whether or not the "A," "B," "C," "D" classification specified could be possible with us, is doubtful. I can see no reason, however, why cottage almshouses on the Sheffield plan could not be successfully tried in this country. The old people are well looked after—they are happy in their semi-isolation from others, and they are not exposed to the perils of a solitary life. The occupants of the cottages at Sheffield seemed happy and content. It would surely be a dis-

tinct gain to make even sixteen inmates of an almshouse satisfied and happy by giving them a semblance of their former individual life and home surroundings, for one of the miseries of people in institutions is that they must consort with uncongenial neighbors, and must eat, sleep, and sit in their company.

Any effort at greater humanity in the treatment of the large class of indoor dependents should be welcomed, and it would seem as if the experiment at Sheffield might well be repeated in some of our American institutions, where its undoubted expense might be justified by reason of the obvious advantages to be gained.

In closing, I should like to call attention to another very humane provision which I found in several English institutions, and which, I fancy, is common to almost all. Separate day-rooms are provided for both men and women, and inmates are not expected to occupy by night the same rooms in which they have sat all day. Nightgowns are provided for the women, and the bedclothing is frequently rolled back in a tidy fashion, leaving the beds to air during the day time. In attention to these small details of comfort, the English guardians of the poor perhaps excel us in institution management, although in other respects, American methods are often more modern and practical.

One small item, which yet implies a good deal of work, is that at Firvale the clothing of each inmate is numbered, and for the women, consists of two dresses, two aprons, two pairs of stockings, two caps, two petticoats, two pairs of drawers, two chemises, and a woolen shawl. In this respect we again find the individual treatment, the care of the special woman or man, which is frequently lacking in a great institution, and yet which is so greatly valued by the recipient—who has

often not resigned his or her independence without a struggle, and who still clings to the sense of respectability which his or her own clothes, marked with an individual name or number, gives. One of the saddest thoughts connected with an almshouse, is that each man and woman there has failed through physical, mental or moral disability, to maintain the individual position in the world which is every human being's heritage and right. For this reason, the humane experiment at Sheffield deserves, and should receive, the thoughtful consideration of those among us who are responsible for the care and welfare of public dependents, and especially for the poor in almshouses.

CLASSIFICATION

"A" Class

Aged and infirm over 60 years of age who have resided in the Sheffield Union (of several parishes, probably) for a period of not less than 20 years before applying for relief; who have not had relief during that time; whose character will bear the strictest investigation during that time, and who, through no fault of their own, have been unable to provide for old age.

"B" Class

1. Aged and infirm over 60 years of age who fall short in one or two of the conditions in Class A.
2. Able-bodied widows whose character is very good.
3. Those of any age who are temporarily or permanently infirm, and whose character is very good.
4. Deserted wives, whose character is very good, and whose desertion is not through any fault of their own.

"C" Class

To include all of whatever age, and whether able-bodied or not, who are neither of definitely good nor of known bad character.

"D" Class

All whose character is decidedly bad.

N. B.—Young people likely to learn from, rather than to teach their companions, should be placed too high rather than too low in classifying.

In order that every inmate on arrival at the workhouse may at once be placed in his or her proper class, the following arrangements have been made, *viz.*:

When a Workhouse Order is given by a relieving officer between the meetings of the relief committees, it shall be his duty to mark on the Admission Order the class in which, on the information in his possession at that time, the person admitted should, in his opinion, be placed, and to report to his committee what he has done. The committee shall, after careful enquiry and consideration, indicate their decision *re* Classification in the Application and Report Book, and also on the Character Sheet, which later shall be forwarded by the Superintendent of Out-Relief to the Workhouse Master *the same day.**

* The Relieving officers, in making their tentative classification, or the District Committee in revising it, shall only place applicants in Class D if fully satisfied from enquiry or previous knowledge, that they are of decidedly bad character. Whenever the character is doubtful, or there is insufficient information, the class must be C. Similarly, the workhouse master, if ever compelled to admit unclassified cases, shall tentatively class them C, unless he have such specific knowledge of the case as justifies a higher or lower class.

HOW THE DIFFERENT CLASSES ARE TREATED

Class A

In accordance with the recommendation in the first report, eight one-room cottages have been built for the accommodation of 16 persons of this class. They are erected on land belonging to the guardians, facing Smilter Lane, and are known as the Firvale Cottages. A caretaker's house is in the center, and all are connected together by a corridor, useful for exercise in bad weather, whence access is obtained to the bath rooms and other conveniences.

The rooms are about 11 x 14 feet each, being arranged with comfortable beds and other furniture for the accommodation of two inmates. These rooms are occupied either by a married couple, or by two men or two women as the case may be.

None but Class A persons are admitted to these cottages and such only from that class can be selected as are not by age or infirmity unable to manage for themselves or for one another. As a rule their dinners are cooked in the central kitchen by the caretaker, but they prepare their other meals themselves.

The old people accommodated in these rooms are quite free to pay visits to or receive visits from their friends, and all privileges referred to in the following paragraphs are granted to them.

It is pleasing to observe how thoroughly the inmates of these cottages appreciate the accommodation provided for them. The cost of their erection was 3,370 pounds, a figure that has caused the guardians to pause before building others. It should, however, be borne in mind that in case of extension, no additional administrative buildings would be required, as

the one caretaker's house, bathrooms, etc., would suffice for the 24 cottages originally proposed, or, indeed, for any number of cottages that might be decided on.

Classes A and B

(In the almshouse proper)

Except so far as there is accommodation in the Aged People's Homes referred to, Classes A and B are treated as one. The women of this class are placed in light airy rooms, which were formerly a part of the boys' school, while the men of this class occupy front rooms in the main building.

In both cases the floors of the day rooms are covered with linoleum, comfortable armchairs and curtains to the windows are provided, there are pictures on the walls, ornaments, including a clock, are supplied, and the general aspect of the rooms is made as inviting as possible. There is no uniform, but the clothing is warm and suitable for each case. The inmates of this class are also allowed to retain the clothing (after fumigation) in which they enter, if fit for use and they desire it.

Their food is as superior to and distinct from that of the inferior classes as is consistent with the rules of the Local Government Board, and dry tea and sugar are allowed both men and women in addition to the ordinary rations, or tobacco or snuff when desired. The inmates of each room are permitted to prepare tea for themselves. All their meals are taken in the day room, and their sleeping and other accommodation is separate from that of the inferior classes.

It is now decided to allow this class the fullest freedom within the limits of necessary discipline, for them to have ready access to the workhouse grounds beyond

the enclosure reserved specially for their use and to provide them with permanent cards authorizing the porter to permit of their egress and ingress, when they desire to walk beyond the precincts of the house.

They are allowed to retain any pet animal or object to which they have become attached; and which would be a comfort to them, so long as it is not an annoyance to others, and when they are able and desire it, they are to have the opportunity of cultivating a small garden for flowers and vegetables for their own use.

Class C

This class receives, as far as possible, the ordinary treatment that has been in force in the workhouse in past years. They have, however, separate day room and sleeping accommodation from those in the D class, and their clothing also is somewhat superior. They are not under ordinary circumstances entitled to extra diet, or tobacco, or snuff, but the Classification Committee are free to grant such privileges apart from the special conditions imposed in Class D.

Class D

The accommodation for persons of this class is in every way inferior to the foregoing. They have forms instead of chairs, older and patched clothing suffices, and their wards are at the rear of the workhouse, and in the "D" Block. No extras in the way of food are provided for them, and tobacco or snuff is only allowed for special or disagreeable services.

It should be noted that the whole of this classification is intended to apply to those who are neither sick nor very infirm. It is necessary that the sick and infirm should be classed more in relation to their physical

condition than their character, but where the accommodation provided makes it possible for the workhouse master to carry out the character distinctions in the infirm wards, it is manifestly desirable that he should do so.

Aged Couples

It would not be right to leave this part of the subject without stating that in relation to each class, provision is made for aged couples to live together; the position, convenience, and comfort of their rooms varying as described in the foregoing paragraphs. So much misconception exists in reference to the alleged separation of aged married couples that it cannot be too emphatically stated that whenever a man and wife, both over the prescribed age of 60, desire to live together, arrangements are made for them to do so unless their physical condition makes treatment in infirm or hospital wards a necessity.

C. THE SYSTEM IN DENMARK

Denmark is one of the countries which has adopted the old age pension, and the classification in the homes for the aged is made simpler by this fact. The method of institutional care of the poor adopted is by means of a series, either of institutions as in the larger cities, or of departments within the one institution, as occurs in the smaller places.

The division is threefold. The largest department is the almshouse proper as we usually understand it, *i. e.*, a place for paupers generally, without distinction of classes, except that the inmates are old or feeble. This is called the "Fattighus," or poorhouse. Then there is another institution in a separate department,

sometimes a wing of the same building, sometimes a distinct building on an adjoining lot and sometimes quite a distance away, called the workhouse, to which are sent the able-bodied, vagrant, idle and intemperate. There they are set at work if they have working ability, and are trained in industry if they have none. Their labor is organized so that it has an economic value and they must earn a certain sum over and above the cost of their care, part of which amount they receive from time to time and part is reserved to help them to become established on their discharge.

Quite distinct from the almshouse and the workhouse, although sometimes only as a distinct department, is the asylum for the aged (in Danish "Gamelshejm"). Admission to this is reserved for people eligible to the old age pension, who are the best class of the poor.

Visits to the institutions for the poor in Copenhagen, and to one in the town of Roskilde having the three departments combined in the same institution, were very interesting as well as instructive. The following is a translation of a report prepared (in French) for the International Congress of Public Relief and Private Philanthropy, August, 1910.

THE COPENHAGEN ASYLUM FOR THE AGED
(L'Asile des Vieillards)

Building began in 1897 and the asylum was dedicated by the municipality of Copenhagen in October, 1901. It is intended for people who are legally entitled to an old age pension. The law requires that the pensioner shall be sixty years old, shall never have been sentenced for crime or misdemeanor, and for five years past shall not have been in receipt of public relief.

The city bestows old age pensions on about 8000 persons; the asylum, where there is room for 470, is intended for those entirely incapacitated for work, who are without relatives, or those whose physical condition requires continual medical attention and nursing.

The building consists of three wings, opening upon a large garden, with a pergola, a fountain, and many seats. The halls, loggias, sitting rooms, etc., are ornamented with pictures and plants. The heating is by a central system. The ground floor and first floors are specially for old people who have moderately good health and can dress themselves and attend to their personal wants. The bedrooms are arranged for old married couples, or for four to six persons. A loggia opening to the garden affords a pleasant lounging place in fine weather and four large halls are used for dining rooms and for meeting places. This section has room for 214.

The section for the feebler ones (des faibles) has 120 beds and is partly on the first, partly on the second, and partly on the third floor.

The infirmary (Section des malades) with 120 beds is partly on the second and partly on the third floor. For the needs of the feeble and sick ones, there are three loggias, two closed and the third open. The office of the physician (Salle de consultation), a pharmacy, and an operating room are on the second floor. A library is on the first floor and in the basement are baths, store rooms, a laundry, etc.

The food for all in the asylum comes from the kitchen of the nearby general almshouse ("l'Hôpital General," —in Danish "Fattighus"). The inmates are supplied with food and clothing and one Krone (27 cents), or 50 œre (13½ cents), in cash per week, those who have

given up to the asylum a small revenue or a pension, receiving one Krone.

The asylum is only for those whose conduct merits its privileges; for certain faults, drunkenness, mendicity or other ill conduct, they may be sent to the general almshouse.

The inmates are under no restraint, but may freely leave the asylum to visit friends, or the city, if their health permits.

Up to the year 1909, 578 persons had been received, and 141 had died. During 1909, there were 147 admissions, of whom 107 came from different city hospitals and only 40 from the city itself. The average age of the men admitted was seventy-six years, of the women a little over seventy-seven. Sixty-one persons were between sixty and seventy; 227 between seventy and eighty; 142 between eighty and ninety-five. Many of the patients are bed-ridden, some are demented, most require a great deal of care. The average number present during 1909 was about 155, and the total cost 311,385 Kroner 35 œre ($83,448.25). The daily per capita cost for the infirm was 2 Kroner 20 œre (about 54 cents). The staff numbers 113, of whom 80 are employed in nursing the sick.

The expense is divided between the city and the state on the same basis as the old age pensions.

The Home for the Aged is a model of comfort and cleanliness. One feature that struck the visitor especially was a plan for moving bed-ridden patients, placing them during the day in their cots upon trestles near the windows so that they can look out over the garden or the street. The freedom from restrictive rules, the general peace and good order—evidently the

result of comfort and satisfaction, were unmistakable. Nevertheless the majority of the old age pensioners prefer to live on their small pension outside. With room for 470, only about 155 were present, while the city claims 8000 old age pensioners. A similar report of the institution of the same class in the city of d'Aarhus, showed a slightly larger proportion of old age pensioners accepting the asylum. That city has 1227 pensioners and 87 live in the asylum.

The relative numbers of inmates in the three institutions for the poor at Copenhagen are as follows: In the almshouse proper about 1500; capacity 1800. In the workhouse about 500; capacity 1000. In the Asylum for the Aged about 155; capacity 470.

Although the administration of the Asylum for the Aged is under the same department of the city government as the almshouse, and although its privileges, like that of the old age pension itself, are dependent upon the economic status, as well as the age and physical condition, of the beneficiaries, yet there is a real distinction arising from the fact that the inmates of the asylum, as well as the old age pensioners, are by law held not to be paupers, and the various civic disabilities which pauperism entails in Denmark do not attach to them.

An interesting feature of each of the three methods of indoor relief in Copenhagen is that every inmate is allowed a small sum of money for personal expenditure. Even the oldest and feeblest in the almshouse, who are quite incapable of work, are allowed 30 œre (about 9 cents) per week. Others who do some work receive more.

APPENDIX VIII

COUNTY HOUSES OF CORRECTION IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

From the Sixth Biennial Report of the New Hampshire State Board of Charities

This board must again report that the law providing that county farm buildings "shall be deemed houses of correction" still remains unchanged upon our statute books; also the deplorable fact that they are so used.

The law authorizing the use of these institutions for penal purposes was the result of an unwise supposition on some one's part that the number committed to such institutions for petty offenses would be so small that from an economic as well as a reformatory point of view only good would result. The most important premise in the case was apparently lost sight of for the time being; namely, that the pauper and petty criminal should never be sheltered in the same institution and should never in spirit or practice be classified together.

To prove the fallacy of the idea that the number to be sent to these institutions would be few, we have only to turn to our statistics: During the year ending September 30, 1905, 1,786 prisoners (1,653 men and 133 women) were sent to the county houses of correction at county farms, and 383 to the houses of correction at the Nashua and Manchester city farms. Of the number sent to county farms, 1,637 were committed for drunkenness, and 149 for other offenses.

During the year ending September 30, 1906, 2,342 prisoners (2,161 men and 181 women) were sent to the houses of correction at county farms and 128 to the house of correction at Nashua City Farm. (The Manchester City Farm was abolished in July, 1905.) Of the number sent to county farms, 2,181 were committed for drunkenness and 161 for other offenses.

The total number reported October 1, 1905 (2,169), shows a decrease of 38 over the number (2,207) reported the year before; but the total number (2,470) reported October 1, 1906, is the largest number ever returned to this board, and shows an increase of 301 prisoners at the several houses of correction during the past year.

Consequently, we find one portion of our almshouses set aside for the habitation of the tramp when he is no longer disposed to travel; the drunkard when he can no longer keep the peace; the thief when his crime is not startling enough to demand iron bars sufficiently strong to confine the most desperate criminal; and the person whose immorality has become reprehensible to the community at large—all sentenced for certain terms varying in length of time from twenty days to one year, with no provision for suspension of sentence in case of good behavior. Too many of this number are really what might be termed "self-committed." They commit some petty offense in order to secure comfortable quarters for the winter, where they will be freely allowed the companionship of their kind. If some sort of parole system could be established it might serve as an index in pointing out these "dead beats" and those capable of reformatory influence.

The counties by law are obliged to provide shelter and food for this class. The policy is to furnish them work if there is any, but it is evident there is not suffi-

cient hard labor to make these institutions objectionable to these "knights of leisure." In this state, where there is enough work and more than enough for these persons to do, should they not be obliged to do it, and should there not be some system in providing it for them? Seemingly, the most rational plan by which to accomplish this laudable purpose would be to establish a state workhouse under state supervision where criminals can be committed and where they can be delegated to do the work for which there seems to be the greatest need, whether in a woodyard, at a stone pile, or upon our New Hampshire roads.

APPENDIX IX

A. IMBECILES IN THE ALMSHOUSE

Below will be found an extract from a paper read by Mr. Ernest P. Bicknell, at that time secretary of the Board of State Charities of Indiana. The persons of whose history he gives us some important facts were nearly all inmates, either continuously or intermittently, of county almshouses, a large number of them having been born in the almshouse.

It is a reasonable assertion to make that a large proportion of these degenerate people are actually a by-product of public relief, and especially of the almshouse relief. They have been kept alive and their perpetuation has been made possible, if it has not actually been encouraged, by public relief.

It is true that many of them would have survived and would have perpetuated their unhappy kind, without public relief,—private philanthropy is equally to blame, perhaps more guilty, in some cases. Nevertheless the indictment stands. We have these people as a public burden because when we feed, shelter and clothe them—as we must, we do not also control them—as we ought.

B. FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS AS AN INHERITANCE

Extract from a Paper read by Mr. Ernest P. Bicknell at the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1896 *

It has been with a view to determine whether a large per cent of feeble-mindedness is inherited from feeble-minded parents that I have for the last two years been gradually collecting statistics bearing more or less directly on this question. The work has been done simply as time could be snatched from pressing duties, and the opportunity has been lacking to trace out complicated lines of relationship or search for missing links. The families with whose histories I have dealt have been paupers in part or all of their members, and much of my information has been obtained from poor asylum records. Nothing in this work has been taken for granted. Absence of facts has in every instance counted against the strength of the showing made in the statistics. If no reliable information was obtainable about an individual, he was invariably counted of sound mind, no matter how strong were inferential reasons for believing him of feeble mind. The result of this policy has been the certainty that the actual facts, could they be fully known, would perceptibly strengthen the force of the statistics collected. Of generations now living, essential facts are usually to be had, if persistently sought; of generations dead, reliable information is often impossible to get.

Something of the histories of 248 families have been recorded here. They are not clean cut, not properly rounded out. They begin in obscurity, come into view

* See Proceedings National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1896, p. 219.

for a few years, and fall back to obscurity again. But the broken stories of their misery, their perpetuation of their own wretched kind, their demoralizing influence on their fellows, their dragging down of the average of morality, intelligence, and physical development, are sorrowful beyond words.

The whole number of persons composing these 248 families is 887. Of the 395 males, 222, or 56.2 per cent, were found to be feeble-minded; and of the 492 females, 340, or 69 per cent, were feeble-minded. Of the 887 persons, therefore, 562, or 63.2 per cent, were mentally defective. It is to be noticed that the feeble-mindedness among the females exceeded that among the males by 12.8 per cent. It is possible that this difference may be accounted for by the greater ease of tracing a history of feeble-mindedness in females, because the results of mental deficiency in them are usually more visible and far-reaching than in males. This is not offered as a sufficient explanation of the difference disclosed, but only as a suggestion possibly worthy of attention.

In 101 of the 248 families under consideration has been found a history of feeble-mindedness extending through more than one generation. These supply examples of the transmittal of feeble-mindedness from parent to child. In those of the 248 families in which only one generation of mental deficiency has been discovered the feeble-mindedness could not have been inherited from feeble-minded parents, and must have been the result of other causes, of which there may be many but which time forbids me now to discuss. We have an opportunity, therefore, to determine by a comparison whether feeble-mindedness in children is more or less likely to result from feeble-mindedness in parents than from other causes.

If the percentage of feeble-mindedness in families where there is a history of this defect, running through two or more generations, is greater than in families in which feeble-mindedness is not inherited from feeble-minded parents, then the fair inference would seem to be that mental deficiency in the parents is that condition which is most certain to result in feeble-mindedness in the offspring. The 101 families in which more than one generation of feeble-mindedness was found numbered 447 different persons. Eighty-six families with 312 members had a record of feeble-mindedness in two generations; 42 families with 77 members had feeble-mindedness in three generations, while two families showed four and one five generations of this defect. Of the 447 persons in these 101 families in which mental deficiency was known to have descended from parents to children, 359, or 80 per cent, were found to be feeble-minded. In the remaining 147 families under discussion in this paper, in which feeble-mindedness has been found in but one generation, there were 440 different persons, of whom 203, or 46.1 per cent, were feeble-minded.

Thus we find that in families in which mental deficiency descends from parent to children the per cent of feeble-mindedness is 80, while in those families in which feeble-mindedness is the result of all other causes the per cent is 46.1. Other and more complete investigations must be made before these percentages can be accepted as reliable. Certainly, no other physical or mental weakness can show a hereditary transmittal in 80 out of every possible 100 opportunities.

It is worthy of note that this enquiry has once more emphasized the close relationship which exists between feeble-mindedness and those other defects of mind and

body commonly regarded as hereditary. Of the 887 persons concerning whom the foregoing statistics were collected, 2.6 per cent were epileptics, 3 per cent insane, 8 per cent blind, and 1.7 per cent deaf and dumb. Compare these percentages with the percentages of the same defects in the normal population. Employing the statistics supplied by the Eleventh Federal Census, we find that in the United States in 1890 the insane composed two-tenths of 1 per cent of the population, the blind eight one-hundredths of 1 per cent, and the deaf and dumb six one-hundredths of 1 per cent. Expressing the comparison differently, in 10,000 persons from the normal population we should expect to find 20 insane persons, 8 blind, and 6 deaf and dumb; while in a population of 10,000 belonging to families in which there is a strain of feeble-mindedness we should expect to find, according to the statistics here presented, 300 insane persons, 80 blind, and 170 deaf and dumb. Were this comparison known to be wholly trustworthy, it would prove that the causes which produce feeble-mindedness are only less terrible in their collateral effects. The constitutional weakness which permits the entrance of one of these ills seems to swing wide the doors in invitation to all the others. But we are not ready to accept the statistics which have been presented as exclusive. The number of cases on which one side of the comparison is based is far too small to afford a substantial foundation for so important a verdict. Of this comparison I think we may safely say it is significant in the direction in which it turns our thought, and that it suggests fuller investigation by different persons in various parts of the country. It is to be noted also that the comparison here made is not breaking a new path of enquiry, but follows an old

trail, well defined, and serves only to add a few more finger posts to those already set.

In any discussion of feeble-mindedness it is hardly possible to avoid referring to the prevalence of illegitimacy among this class of unfortunates. It forces itself upon the attention of the investigator at every turn, and the fact very soon becomes patent that a large per cent of all the illegitimacy occurring in the country is to be charged to those whose mental condition makes them partially or wholly irresponsible for the evils which they produce. In collecting the statistics above presented concerning 887 persons, there were found to be among them 186 cases of illegitimacy. That is, 21 per cent of all the members of 248 families, in which a strain of feeble-mindedness was found, were known to be illegitimate; while the marriage bonds were so little regarded by a great many of the families that there is no doubt that the actual proportion of illegitimacy, could the truth be known, would be shown to be much greater than the 21 per cent given. In reckoning the evils which are entailed upon society by feeble-mindedness, illegitimacy, with all the demoralization and degradation which accompany it, must be assigned a prominent place.

Did time permit, it would be of interest to refer more particularly to some of the families whose records have contributed to the statistics of feeble-mindedness and kindred evils which have been presented. A history of actual cases might convey a more vivid appreciation of the unhappy conditions surrounding and controlling the feeble-minded than is produced by the discussion of totals and percentages. I must limit illustration to the partial history of a single family.

In one of our southern Indiana counties the poorhouse

records have been preserved for thirty-five years. During that entire time one family has been represented among the pauper population. This family's pauper record probably extends yet farther back; but, since the records of an earlier date have not been saved, the statement cannot be positively made. In the thirty-five years of which a record has been kept it is found that 30 members of this family have been inmates of the poorhouse. As most of them have remained years and some have lived in the institution almost continuously since the record began, it is a fact that an average of three or four, possibly five, members of this family have been in the poorhouse at all times for fully one-third of a century. Other members have been the recipients of outdoor relief, while a few have managed to "shift for themselves" in a half-civilized manner. I have been unable to determine, even approximately, the total number of persons in the family, even since the poorhouse record began; and links in relationship are here and there missing. The following fragment of history, which I have succeeded in compiling, is sufficient, however, to illustrate the subject under consideration.

One of the oldest of the family now living was born in 1823. He is feeble-minded. His first wife was feeble-minded. Four children were the result of this marriage, two sons and two daughters. All were feeble-minded. These children were named Mary, Margaret, Andrew, and George. The first wife died; and in his old age this man married a second time, his second choice being also a feeble-minded woman. Four children resulted from the second marriage, two of them feeble-minded; but no record of the mental condition of the other two has been found. The two daughters

who were born to the first wife of this man were, as I have said, feeble-minded. Both are living today and are inmates of the poor asylum. Neither has ever married. Mary has borne six or seven children. Two have been dead for years and their mental condition is not positively known. Two daughters now living are in the School for Feeble-minded; and a son, who died within a few years, was feeble-minded. A third daughter is feeble-minded, and is the wife of a feeble-minded man. They are not in the poor asylum, but live in a neighboring county, where they are given assistance by a township trustee. This couple has one child, of whose mental condition I have no information. The other sister, Margaret, has a daughter, feeble-minded and unmarried, and a feeble-minded son now in the School for Feeble-minded. This woman has also borne two other children, now dead, but both said to have been feeble-minded. Of the son Andrew we have no record. He is dead, and probably died in youth. The son George married a feeble-minded woman and a feeble-minded son was born to them. George afterwards separated from his wife, and later married a second feeble-minded woman. Before marriage this woman had borne a feeble-minded son by a former husband and an illegitimate feeble-minded son by George. So far as known, every member of the family has been feeble-minded. At least ten members have been illegitimate. The history of this family is not closed. In truth, its productive power for evil is probably greater today than at any time in its history.

Again comes the question asked in the earlier part of this paper. Can anything be done to check or prevent? I believe we are prepared to answer, yes. The feeble-minded which we have we must keep until

they die, but they need not be allowed to bring other feeble-minded into existence. Prohibition would not check the operation of the first causes of mental deficiency, but it would stop the inheritance of the defect from parents similarly afflicted. Incomplete and inconclusive as the statistics which I have here presented may be, they certainly serve to demonstrate that a very large per cent of feeble-mindedness springs from feeble-minded progenitors. Let a stop be put to this source, and the immediate cause of the greater part of the feeble-mindedness in the country today would, I believe, be removed.

The fact that feeble-mindedness may be, and often is, inherited, supplies a solid foundation upon which to base restrictive and preventive measures. The knowledge should serve to give definiteness and direction to our work, and a gauge by which to measure results. It may not assist in preventing first generations of feeble-mindedness, but it proves that second and subsequent generations may be prevented by means within our control. Whatever the differences of opinion among investigators as to first causes or chief causes, or whatever plans may be proposed for reaching and remedying or alleviating the evil, I believe it a safe conclusion, and worthy of acceptance, that, while society is remotely responsible for the first generation of feeble-mindedness in any family, its responsibility for every subsequent generation of feeble-mindedness in the same direct line of descent is clear-cut and beyond question.

B. APPENDIX TO PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF AMOS W. BUTLER*

Mr. Bicknell was succeeded as secretary of the Indiana Board by Mr. Amos W. Butler. Mr. Butler continued the study of the same set of families for a number of years, adding to the record many inmates of almshouses, others who were inmates of other institutions than the almshouse, and also many collateral relatives.

In 1907, Mr. Butler being president of the National Conference of Charities and Correction made his presidential address on "The Burden of Feeble-mindedness," and an appendix to that address presented the additional figures as follows:†

The State Board of Charities of Indiana maintains in its office a card registration of public institution inmates. Beginning in 1890, with the records of four hospitals for the insane and ninety-two county poor asylums, the registration has been enlarged from time to time and now contains the records of the movement of population of 148 institutions and includes the names of about 75,000 persons who have at some time been inmates thereof. The following figures are based upon these records:

Eight hundred and three families, selected because of feeble-mindedness in one or more generations, were found to consist of 3,048 members, an average of 3.79 persons to each family. There were 1,395 males and 1,653 females. Nine hundred forty-two, or 67 per cent, of the males, and 1,166, or 70 per cent, of the females,

*See Proceedings National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1907, p. 1.

†See Proceedings National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1907, p. 611.

are known to have been, at some time or other, inmates of public institutions in Indiana, principally county poor asylums. More than half of these persons were feeble-minded. The mental defect occurred sometimes in the parents, again in the children, frequently in both parents and children. The mental and physical condition of the entire number is as follows:

Condition	*Males*	*Females*	*Total*	*Percentage*
Feeble-minded	629	965	1594	52.3
Insane	44	52	96	3.2
"Dull"	76	47	123	4.
Epileptic	16	18	34	1.1
Blind, deaf or paralytic	22	14	36	1.1
Normal or unknown	608	557	1165	38.3
Total	1395	1653	3048	100.0

Feeble-mindedness is frequently accompanied by some other defect, such as epilepsy, blindness, deafness or paralysis. Epilepsy occurs more frequently than the others mentioned. Fifty-six of the males and 79 of the females marked feeble-minded in the above tabulation are also epileptic, blind, deaf, or paralytic. The whole number of epileptics found in these families is 113. Counting those reported as feeble-minded, insane, dull, or epileptic, there are 765 males and 1,082 females, a total of 1,847, or 60.6 per cent, who are mentally defective. The greater number of females is due partly to the fact that some of these "families" consist, so far as the records go, of a feeble-minded woman and her child or children, frequently illegitimate.

It has not been possible to learn the percentage of

every one of these 3,048 individuals, but counting those of whom we have some information, we have found that in the case of 1,074, or 35.2 per cent, the mother was either mentally or physically defective and the father was unknown or normal; of 297, or 9.7 per cent, the father was defective and the mother unknown or normal; of 377, or 12.4 per cent, both parents were defective, making an aggregate of 1,748, or 57.3 per cent, whose father, mother, or both father and mother were defective. Of 43, or 1.4 per cent, the parents were related, but not defective so far as we have record. Of the remaining 1,257, or 41.2 per cent, the mental condition of the parents is either unknown or normal. Of the entire number, 421, or 13.8 per cent, are reported as illegitimate.

Included in these 803 families are 312 in which feeble-mindedness was found in two or more generations. The whole number, 312, includes 261 families of two generations each, 42 families of three generations each, seven families of four generations each and two families of five generations each. In no one of these families is there less than two generations of feeble-mindedness, and frequently the mental defect extends to the last generation of which we have record. Were it possible to follow into later life the children composing, for the most part, the third, fourth and fifth generations in the table which follows, we would doubtless find it necessary to place them in the "Feeble-Minded" column instead of in the "Unknown or Normal" column. In these figures, however, every one of whose mental defect we did not have positive record has been relegated to the latter column.

In the different generations of this group of 312 families there are 1,643 individuals. Of the whole

number, 941, or 57.2 per cent, are feeble-minded, while 997, or 60.6 per cent, are either mentally or physically defective. In the first generation either the father or

PARENTAGE OF 3,048 INDIVIDUALS

Individuals			Parents	
Males	*Females*	*Total*	*Father*	*Mother*
132	108	240	Feeble-minded	Feeble-minded
129	118	247	Feeble-minded	Normal or unknown
1	0	1	F. M., Bl. and Df.	Normal or unknown
11	5	16	Feeble-minded	Insane
8	4	12	Feeble-minded	Epileptic
0	1	1	Feeble-minded	F. M. and Paralytic
1	2	3	F. M., and Blind	Feeble-minded
1	0	1	F. M., Bl. and Ep.	Normal or unknown
3	0	3	F. M. and Blind	Blind
2	0	2	F. M. and Blind	Normal or unknown
0	1	1	F. M. and Blind	F. M. and Blind
1	0	1	F. M. and Epileptic	Normal or unknown
0	1	1	F. M. and Blind	Insane
2	0	2	F. M. and Paralytic	Normal or unknown
3	2	5	F. M. and Paralytic	Feeble-minded
5	11	16	F. M. and Epileptic	Feeble-minded
8	4	12	Feeble-minded	Paralytic
6	3	9	Insane	Feeble-minded
1	0	1	F. M. and Blind	Epileptic
9	7	16	Insane	Normal or unknown
4	1	5	Insane	Insane
10	10	20	Dull	Dull
473	453	926	Normal or unknown	Feeble-minded
13	8	21	Normal or unknown	F. M. and Epileptic
3	5	8	Epileptic	Feeble-minded
6	4	10	Paralytic	Feeble-minded
8	5	13	Blind	Feeble-minded
0	1	1	Normal or unknown	F. M. and Deaf
5	10	15	Normal or unknown	Feeble-minded and Bl.
2	1	3	Normal or unknown	F. M. and Paralytic
1	0	1	Normal or unknown	F. M., Par. and Blind
45	40	85	Normal or unknown	Insane
1	5	6	Normal or unknown	Dull
3	2	5	Epileptic	Normal or unknown
3	7	10	Normal or unknown	Epileptic
0	1	1	Deaf	Normal or unknown
1	0	1	Deaf	Deaf
5	7	12	Blind	Normal or unknown
2	0	2	Normal or unknown	Blind
6	3	9	Paralytic	Normal or unknown
2	2	4	Normal or unknown	Paralytic
458	799	1257	Normal or unknown	Normal or unknown
21	22	43	Related to mother	
1395	1653	3048		

F. M.—Feeble-minded. Bl.—Blind. Df.—Deaf. Ep.—Epileptic. Par.—Paralytic.

the mother, and frequently both, are feeble-minded. Their descendants in the second generation, including 59 men and women who married into the families and became the parents of later generations, number 754, of whom 494, or 65.5 per cent, are feeble-minded, while 531, or 70.4 per cent, are either mentally or physically defective. The entire number of descendants, extending for some of the families into the fifth generation and including 76 men and women related by marriage, is 1,019, and among these are 584 feeble-minded persons, 624 being either physically or mentally defective. This indicates feeble-mindedness in 57.3 per cent and mental or physical defect in 61.2 per cent of the descendants of these 312 unions, in which the man, the woman or both were feeble-minded.

It would be easy to give hundreds of instances of abuse, usually sexual, of feeble-minded persons in almshouses. It is the common understanding that few or none of the women of child-bearing age escape maternity; that their children though frequently, perhaps usually, by strong-minded fathers, ordinarily inherit the mothers' psychic defect in some one of its various forms. But the careful scientific collection of facts in the two articles presented above, guardedly counting, as they do, every unknown person as though he were normal, makes the case stronger than if it depended on almost any number of striking or sensational instances.

The conclusion is inevitable,—that the feeble-minded woman of child-bearing age is not in her proper place in an almshouse, and that if perforce she must be kept there, in default of better accommodation, then the superintendent and matron, and the governing board, too, are under the strongest obligation to protect her against abuse and the state against her possible progeny.—Author.

APPENDIX X

ADVICE TO AN ALMSHOUSE SUPERINTENDENT

Extract from a Paper read by Ernest P. Bicknell at the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1896 *

First, do not through kindly feeling be on too familiar terms with the inmates. Draw a plain and unmistakable line between your own domestic affairs and the affairs of the asylum. Do not allow the inmates to lounge in or around your own private quarters. Treat the inmates quietly and respectfully. Show them such courtesies as "Thank you," "If you please," "Good morning," "That's right," and many others which cost nothing to the giver, but are valuable to the recipient. Jokes are dangerous, but a simple one that doesn't hurt anybody's feelings is not a bad thing occasionally to dispel the gloom which is likely to hang heavy over a poorhouse. Knock on the doors of the inmates' rooms before entering. The kind of superintendent I am dealing with here would never use profane or vulgar language in his intercourse with inmates; so I need not stop to condemn those practices, though they deserve the severest possible condemnation. Do not encourage any advances toward familiarity on the part of the inmates. It may be stated that the slightest encourage-

* Proceedings National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1896, p. 269.

ment in this direction will be speedily taken advantage of. When I visit a poor asylum and hear the inmates address the superintendent as "John" or "Bill," I know without further investigation that discipline in that institution is not what it should be. Not long ago I helped a county get rid of a poor-asylum superintendent. He was a good-hearted man and his wife was a good woman. But the inmates in speaking to them called him "Jack" and her "Mariar." There was the general looseness of affairs which this would indicate, and they had to go.

Second, be kind, but firm as a rock. Let your hand be steel, but cover it with the proverbial velvet glove. The people in your care must understand that you will not issue an order or make a rule until you are certain you are right; and, when the order or rule is made, they must know that it is to be obeyed to the letter. They will try a good many experiments before they will be convinced of these things, and will make trouble for you; but in time they will accept you on your own conditions, and respect you for your firmness. A caution should be dropped in right here against making too many rules. The thing may be very easily overdone. If you have a great many rules, you are likely to find that you will have to make frequent exceptions to them, or, in other words, permit them to be violated in special cases. When you begin that, you might almost as well abolish them at once. A lot of rules, too, tend to make the asylum too much like a machine. It is absolutely necessary to have system and order, but you must allow yourself enough latitude to make special regulations for special cases. A rule that would be easy for nine inmates to obey might be a serious hardship or injustice to the tenth. Each inmate has his own individuality;

and, if this fact is not recognized, the superintendent and inmate will both be in hot water much of the time.

Third, be systematic. Every poor-asylum inmate should be employed at something, if he has wit enough to understand simple instructions or strength to go about. The work need not be heavy; gauge it to the person who is to do it. When you find that an inmate can do a certain piece of work, let him have that particular thing for his regular duty, and hold him responsible for it. He will then not have to be constantly looked after, will feel contented and easy in knowing exactly what is required of him, and will become more useful because constant practice will train him. The superintendent, being to a certain extent relieved of the care of this inmate, will have more time for other affairs, and will know where to fix the blame if this particular work is neglected. Idiots of the lowest grade, with some careful assistance at the beginning, may sometimes be made very faithful and useful by this plan of management. I do not know of any kind of institution, public or private, in which disorder and confusion are so prone to flourish and so hard to prevent as in poorhouses.

Fourth, you will have to meet and in some manner dispose of the sex problem very soon after you take charge of the asylum. The system which places paupers of both sexes under the same roof probably has been the indirect cause of more trouble to superintendents than any other difficulty which has to be solved. There are times when it almost seems necessary to remove the velvet glove from the hand of steel in dealing with the relations of the sexes in the asylums. The low and vicious tendencies of many of the paupers, both male and female, are vivified and excited by this

proximity; and enough ingenuity is expended in planning evil to earn an honest livelihood for the schemers, if turned into proper channels. The proper separation of the sexes twenty-four hours every day is essential to good discipline.

Fifth, let your government be quiet, steady, certain. Don't get excited under annoyance, not even under exasperation. Don't enforce orders and rules rigidly one day, and allow them to be violated with impunity the next. Tell the inmates the strict truth at all times. It may hurt in some cases, but not so badly as it will if it comes later, and gives the lie to what you have previously said. Don't allow profane language among the inmates. Give attention to the food on the inmates' table. Cleanliness and decent cooking and appetizing serving do not cost anything extra. Even variety and some vegetables and fruits in season are inexpensive and worth more than they cost in the contentment and goodwill which they inspire in the inmates. Insist on scrupulous cleanliness high and low. Scrub the floors, scrub the furniture, scrub the people. Whether we live well or ill is much a matter of habit; it is the same with paupers. Require right living of them. It will be hard at first, and they will complain bitterly, and say ugly things about you. In a little while habit will get hold of them, and they will fall into the right way and be content.

APPENDIX XI

OCCUPATIONS FOR DEFECTIVES

Any one who has not kept up with the improvement of modern practice in this respect will be surprised to know what has been and can be done in the way of employment of the defectives and insane.

Here is a partial list of the industries practiced in the Gardner State Colony for the Insane in Massachusetts. Ten insane men during a few winter months cut and hauled logs enough to make 46,000 feet of lumber. The inmates have made the clothing for both men and women, more than enough for their own use; boots, shoes and slippers for men; handkerchiefs; neckties; mittens and hats, plaiting straws for the straw hats; work baskets, farm and fancy baskets. Other industries are weaving of carpets, also of towelling and of home-spun fabrics for winter clothing; building of houses, barns, stables; stone breaking and crushing; road making; all farming and gardening; and generally any kind of work that ordinary men and women can do.

At Yankton, South Dakota, the patients do most of the labor of building, especially making cement blocks, of which the front and outer walls of all the new buildings are made. The rest of the buildings are poured cement construction, in which the patients do most of the work,—all the laboring part,—with the result of a very large saving of money to the state.

The Massachusetts State Farm at Bridgewater is not

an almshouse, but many of its inmates are of a similar class to almshouse inmates. Among them are a number classed as criminally insane. Some of these are kept busy, and quiet, cane-seating chairs, but all are busy at something. This is one of the most successfully managed institutions in the United States. The secret of its success lies in the occupation of every inmate who is physically capable of labor in any degree.

The methods used at Gardner and Yankton and the State Farm at Bridgewater are typical of the modern practice in hospitals for the insane in every state in the Union. From Maine to Washington and from Minnesota to Texas, insane people will be found in hospitals usefully employed, and not only made happier but their chance of recovery much increased by the fact.

The same is true in the state institutions for epileptics and for the feeble-minded. In these the assumption with regard to every inmate is on the side of employment. If he or she is not busy during the working hours of the day, the fact of idleness must be accounted for. In the best institutions all the help employed are in the capacity of foremen or forewomen; the inmates are the workers.

In urging a similar policy upon the managers of almshouses, especially with respect to the defective inmates, the writer is speaking out of common knowledge and his own practical experience. The common objection of employes when urged to instruct and induce the inmates to work, that "it is easier and quicker to do it myself than to get them to do it," is based on fallacy. It *is* easier the first time and perhaps the third and the fifth. But with kindness, firmness and tact, it can be done and, when done, the most doubting employe will be glad to continue it.

APPENDIX XII

THE MAN WHO NEVER BATHED

(An actual occurrence)

On visiting the almshouse in H—— County, which had been very badly managed for years, the inspector found a new superintendent who had already made many improvements and was eager for good advice. He asked the inspector for authoritative rules as to bathing, and was told that a full bath for every man once a week was the minimum.

A year later the same inspector made another visit and was met by the superintendent with the following story: He said, "You remember what you told me about bathing these men; well, we did it, but we killed one man. He was a great fat tramp, looked as big as you are. [The inspector weighed 240 pounds.] I told him he must take a bath and he replied that he would not do it; that he had never had a bath since he went in swimming in the creek when he was a boy. 'But,' I told him, 'the state inspector said I must make the men bathe and I am going to do it.' So the hired man and I stripped him. He had on two pairs of pants, and a pair of overalls, three shirts, two vests and a wamuss (a sleeved vest) and between them all he had old newspapers and chaff that filled a bushel basket. When we got him stripped we found he was not as big as I am. [The superintendent weighed about 125 pounds.]

His clothes were all alive and we burnt them up under the furnace. Oh, but he was dirty; but we scrubbed him well in lots of hot water and soap. Then I was afraid he might take cold and I gave him a suit of heavy flannels that I had bought for a consumptive patient, who died before he had worn them, and the heaviest suit of clothes I had in the house. Then I gave him an old overcoat of my own. But he couldn't seem to get warm; he just shivered and shook; so we put him to bed and sent for the doctor, who said he had pneumonia, and he died in three days."

The inspector thereafter was cautious in giving advice about bathing, usually qualifying it with the recommendation that in extreme cases it is always well to make improvements gradually.

APPENDIX XIII

COMPETITIVE PURCHASE OF SUPPLIES

From the Annual Report of the Indiana Board of State Charities, 1909

The following is a copy of an actual requisition for the supplies for three months of a small almshouse, made in compliance with the Indiana Law:

Connersville, Ind., March 1, 1904

To the Honorable Board of Commissioners of Fayette County, Indiana:

Gentlemen:—I submit herewith an estimate of supplies which will be required for the subsistence of the inmates and the maintenance of the County Asylum for the ensuing three months, beginning the first day of April, 1904, and ending the last day of June, 1904.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) J. M. SANDERS, Superintendent.

Names of Articles Needed.	*Quantity Needed.*
Class "A." Dry Goods.	
Calico, "American"	100 yards.
Brown crash, "Stevens"	50 yards.
Apron gingham, "Lancaster"	50 yards.
Bleached muslin, "Hope"	50 yards.
Cotton blankets, 1¼ wide	1 dozen pairs.
Window shades, linen, 7 feet	½ dozen.
Window shades, linen, 48 in. wide x 7½ feet long	8.

Names of Articles Needed.	*Quantity Needed.*
Bed spreads, "White Thorn"	½ dozen.
Linoleum, 8/4 wide	17 yards.
Mosquito bar	4 bolts.
Thread, "O. N. T."	6 dozen spools.
Silkoline, 1 yard wide	10 yards.
Large sized Turkish bath towels	½ dozen.
Large sized linen toilet towels	½ dozen.
Carpet chain, white	10 pounds.
Carpet chain, colored	15 pounds.
White Swiss curtains, 40 in. wide x 144 in. long	4 pairs.
Nottingham lace curtains, good quality	4 pairs.

Class "B." Groceries.

H. & E. fine granulated sugar	400 pounds.
Best "Rio" coffee, roasted	100 pounds.
No. 2 "Young Hyson" tea	10 pounds.
Best quality La. rice	50 pounds.
Babbitt's soap	4 boxes.
Ivory soap	25 bars.
Red Seal lye	1 case.
Royal baking powder	4 pounds.
Ground pepper, best shot	5 pounds.
Good lump starch	50 pounds.
Yeast Foam	¼ box.
American ball blue	¼ gross.
Best quality brooms, No. 2	½ dozen.
Best quality brooms, No. 3	½ dozen.
Palmetto scrubbing brushes	½ dozen.
Fine twist cotton mops, 2 oz.	½ dozen.
Perfection coal oil	100 gallons.
Soda, "Arm and Hammer"	5 pounds.
Three-hooped wooden buckets	½ dozen.
Pearl, "McBeth" lamp chimneys, No. 1	1 dozen.

Names of Articles Needed.	*Quantity Needed.*
Pearl, "McBeth" lamp chimneys, No. 2	1 dozen.
Morgan sapolio	1 dozen bars.
Worcester salt	25 pounds.
H. P. navy beans	3 bushels.
Mother's Oats	1 case.
N. Y. cream cheese	5 pounds.
Ground cinnamon	1 pound.
Ground cloves	1 pound.
Ground allspice	1 pound.
Ginger	1 pound.
Elastic starch	½ dozen boxes.
Moss Rose syrup	½ bbl. or 30 gallons.
Michigan butter crackers	1 barrel.
Mekin ware dishes, 100 pieces	1 set.
Good prunes	25 pounds.
Good dried peaches	25 pounds.
Honey-Drip canned corn	1 case.
Canned tomatoes	1 case.
Early Ohio seed potatoes	10 bushels.
Class "C." Drugs.	
Carbolic acid	2 gallons.
Camphor	1 quart.
Turpentine	1 quart.
Sulphur	5 pounds.
Copperas	5 pounds.
Rochelle salts	2 pounds.
Castor oil	1 quart.
Chloride of lime	5 pounds.
Arnica	1 quart.
Ammonia	1 quart.
Jamaica ginger	1 pound.
Glycerine	1 quart.
Borax	1 pound.
Alcohol	1 quart.

Names of Articles Needed.	*Quantity Needed.*
Neat foot oil	1 gallon.
Quinine	1 ounce.
Paregoric	1 quart.
Tangle-foot fly paper	1 case.
Good quality white-wash brushes	½ dozen.
Mixed paints	1 gallon.

Class "D." Men's Clothing.

Heavy cotton socks	2 dozen pairs.
Suspenders	½ dozen pairs.
Bandanna handkerchiefs	1 dozen.
Working shirts, heavy grade	2 dozen.
Men's all wool suits	4.
Men's working jackets	½ dozen.
Straw hats	1 dozen.
Light weight underwear	½ dozen suits.
Men's overalls	½ dozen pairs.
Men's cotton pants	½ dozen pairs.

Class "E." Shoes.

Men's heavy shoes, good quality	10 pairs.
Women's medium weight shoes	12 pairs.
Old ladies' shoes	½ dozen pairs.

Class "F." Meats.

Good fresh beef	300 pounds.

Class "G." Tobacco.

Star plug	24 pounds.
Scrap smoking	15 pounds.

Notice to bidders. Blank forms for bids may be obtained on request from the county auditor at the court house. All goods are purchased subject to the inspection and approval of the superintendent. Goods are to be delivered at the county asylum or in Connersville at the option of the superintendent. The commissioners reserve the right to reject any or all bids.

APPENDIX XIV

WORK HOUSE NURSING

From the Introduction to Una and her Paupers, by Florence Nightingale

A very touching and beautiful story illustrating the need of proper nursing in a large city almshouse and showing the results that may be attained, is told in Una and her Paupers,* a memoir of Agnes Elizabeth Jones, by her sister. The introduction was written by Florence Nightingale, who gave her the fanciful name of "Una," because her paupers were more untameable than lions.

Miss Nightingale says of her: "In less than three years she had reduced one of the most disorderly hospital populations in the world to something like discipline such as the police themselves wondered at. She had led so as to be of one mind and heart with her, upwards of fifty nurses and probationers; of whom the faithful few whom she took with her of our trained nurses, were but a seed. She had converted a vestry (the parish officials, so-called from the *vestry* of a church) to the conviction of the economy as well as the humanity of nursing pauper sick by trained nurses,—the first instance of its kind in England; for vestries, of whom she had the most enlightened, the most liberal body

* Una and her Paupers. With an introduction by Florence Nightingale and an introductory preface by Henry Ward Beecher. Routledge, New York, 1872.

of men in England to support her, *must* look after the pockets of their ratepayers, as well as the benefit of their sick. But, indeed, the superstition seems now to be exploding, that to neglect such paupers is the way to keep down pauperism. She had converted the Poor Law Board—a body, perhaps, not usually given to much enthusiasm about Unas and paupers—to these views; two of whom bore witness to the effect."

Agnes Jones' work was the beginning of a method of care for the sick poor which has spread widely and bids fair some day to spread to every almshouse in the land.

APPENDIX XV

ONE MEANS OF PREVENTING PAUPERISM

*Extract from a paper read by Mrs. Charles Russell Lowell at the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1879**

* * * * * One of the most important and most dangerous causes of the increase of crime, pauperism, and insanity, is the unrestrained liberty allowed to vagrant and degraded women. The following are the records of a few only of the women found in the various poorhouses,—women who from early girlhood have been tossed from poorhouse to jail, and from jail to poorhouse, until the last trace of womanhood in them has been destroyed:

In the Albany County poorhouse, a single woman, forty years old, of foreign birth, and nine years in the United States, the mother of seven illegitimate children; the woman degraded and abased, and soon again to become a mother.

In the Chautauqua County poorhouse, a woman, fifty-five years old, admitted when twenty-two as a vagrant; said to have been married, but the whereabouts of her husband is unknown; has been discharged from the house, and returned repeatedly, for the past thirty-three years, during which time she has had six illegitimate children.

In the Cortland County poorhouse, an unmarried woman, twenty-seven years old, with her infant child; has been the mother of four illegitimate children, and four of her sisters have also had illegitimate children.

* Proceedings of National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1879, p. 189.

The woman fairly intelligent and educated, but thoroughly debased and vagrant.

In the Essex County poorhouse, a black woman, widowed, aged forty-nine years, and her daughter, single, aged twenty-four years, and her grandson, a mulatto, four years old, illegitimate, and born in the house. The first has been the mother of ten children, seven illegitimate; the second has had three illegitimate children. Both women are intemperate and thoroughly depraved, and quite certain to remain public burdens, each having already been nineteen years in the house. A widowed woman, twenty-four years old, and two children aged respectively four and five years, both illegitimate and feeble-minded and born in the poorhouse, the latter being a mulatto. The woman was sent to the house when six years old, was afterwards placed out but soon returned, and has spent most of her time in this and other poorhouses; has also had three brothers and one sister who were paupers, and is soon again to become a mother; is thoroughly debased, and will probably remain, with her children, a burden through life.

In the Green County poorhouse, a vagrant unmarried woman, forty years old, and first an inmate when twenty-one years of age; goes out from time to time, but soon returns, and will doubtless continue a public burden through life; has five illegitimate children. An unmarried girl, eighteen years of age, having two illegitimate children, the youngest of whom, an infant, was born in the house; was early orphaned, and entered the poorhouse when only seven years of age; her mother a pauper, and she has had one brother and two sisters also paupers. Is thoroughly debased and offers but little hope of reformation.

In the Genesee County poorhouse, a single woman, aged twenty-six years, admitted when eighteen years old; has three illegitimate children with her, aged respectively seven years, three years, and eight months, all of whom were born in the house; and also another child, bound out; was orphaned in early life, and being

neglected, soon became vagrant and idle, and will probably continue to be a public burden.

In the Herkimer County poorhouse, a single woman aged sixty-four years, twenty of which have been spent in the poorhouse; has had six illegitimate children, four of whom have been paupers.

In the Montgomery County poorhouse, a woman twenty years old, illegitimate, uneducated, and vagrant; has two children in the house, aged respectively three years and six months, both illegitimate, and the latter born in the institution, recently married an intemperate, crippled man, formerly a pauper, and the county will doubtless be further burdened with additional progeny.

In the Oswego County poorhouse, an unmarried woman, twenty-nine years of age, born in the poorhouse of a neighboring county; has had five illegitimate children, one of whom only is living; the father, mother, and five sisters have been paupers; is ignorant, shiftless, and vagrant, and gives no hope of reformation.

In the Otsego County poorhouse, a widowed woman aged thirty-five years, three times married (first when only thirteen), a vagrant, and has spent twelve years in poorhouses; has seven living children, three of whom have been paupers, and she seems likely to burden the public with additional progeny.

In the Ontario County poorhouse, a married woman twenty-six years of age, frequently in jail for intoxication, two years an inmate, with a male child three years old and an infant girl aged two months; led a vagrant life in childhood, the father, mother, and four sisters being paupers; is debased and thoroughly degraded by sensual and immoral practices and gives but little hope of reformation; the husband said to be able, but declines to provide for her support. A girl eighteen years of age, unmarried, and only three months in the house; is well connected, prepossessing in appearance, but shameless in conduct; was early orphaned and has led a roving, vagrant life; is soon to become a mother and offers no hope of reformation.

In the Orange County poorhouse, a woman, widowed, eighty years old, educated and temperate, admitted twenty years ago, with her husband, since deceased, and three female children, two of whom are dead; her daughter, forty-four years old, ignorant and depraved, married at nineteen, now widowed; the latter had three children by her husband, one only being living, and subsequently four illegitimate children, all of whom are dead; two of her granddaughters, one twenty-four and the other thirteen years of age, the former single, uneducated, ignorant, and debased, and the latter an idiot; and her great granddaughter, three years old, illegitimate, also an idiot, and blind.

In the Oyster Bay and North Hempstead town poorhouse, a man seventy-two years of age, and his second wife, forty-nine years old, the former an inmate sixteen, and the latter twenty-eight years; the woman has borne four illegitimate children, one of whom, an idiot girl fifteen years old, is now in the house; the man and woman both ignorant, shiftless, and depraved, and classed as permanent burdens.

In the Rockland County poorhouse, an unmarried woman, aged forty-two years, eleven years an inmate; has had four illegitimate children, two of whom are dead, and two provided for in families; is educated, but intemperate and vagrant and gives no promise of reformation. A single woman, nineteen years of age, first admitted to the poorhouse when twelve years old, and for some time past has led a vagrant, tramping life; is ignorant, shiftless, and degraded, and looked upon as incorrigible.

In the Rensellaer County poorhouse, a married woman thirty-one years of age, separated from her husband nearly twelve years, since which time she has borne three illegitimate children, one of whom is dead, and two are now with her, the youngest being four months old; is ignorant, vagrant, and depraved, and gives little promise of future self-support.

In the St. Lawrence County poorhouse, a single woman, twenty-six years old, an inmate only a few

months; has two illegitimate children with her, the youngest born in the house, and has also another illegitimate child, provided for by friends; is educated and temperate, but confirmed in habits of vagrancy, and likely hereafter to burden the public.

In the Suffolk County poorhouse, an ignorant, intemperate, unmarried woman aged sixty-one years, eighteen of which have been passed in poorhouses, giving birth during the time to three children—one being a pauper, and two self-supporting.

In the Westchester County poorhouse, an ignorant, vagrant, unmarried colored woman, thirty-two years of age, an inmate six years, having two illegitimate children provided for in families, and two (twins) one year old, with her, born in the institution.

These women and their children, and hundreds more like them, costing the hard-working inhabitants of the state annually thousands of dollars for their maintenance, corrupting those who are thrown into companionship with them, and sowing disease and death among the people, are the direct outcome of our system. The community itself is responsible for the existence of such miserable, wrecked specimens of humanity. These mothers are women who began life as their own children have begun it,—inheriting strong passions and weak wills, born and bred in a poorhouse, taught to be wicked before they could speak plain, all the strong evil in their nature strengthened by their surroundings and the weak good crushed and trampled out of life. * * * *

To begin at the beginning, what right had we to permit them to be born of parents who were depraved in body and mind? What right have we today to allow men and women who are diseased and vicious to reproduce their kind, and bring into the world beings whose existence must be one long misery to themselves

and others? We do not hesitate to cut off, where it is possible, the entail of insanity by incarcerating for life the incurably insane; why should we not also prevent the transmission of moral insanity, as fatal as that of the mind? * * * * *

Leaving, however, all consideration of duty, and looking only at the *right* of society; the community, which has to bear all the burden of the support of these maimed and crippled bodies and souls, has certainly a right to protect itself, so far as may be, against the indefinite increase of the weight of this burden. In self-defense, the working part of mankind may say to those whom they support by their work, "You yourselves we are prepared to save from starvation by the hard toil of our hands and brains, but you shall not add a single person besides yourselves to the weight we have to carry. You shall not entail upon us and our children the further duty of keeping your children alive in idleness and sin." * * * * * *

To rescue these unfortunate beings and to save the industrious part of the community from the burden of their support, "Reformatories" should be established, to which all women under thirty, when arrested for misdemeanors, or upon the birth of a second illegitimate child, should be committed for very long periods (not as a punishment, but for the same reason that the insane are sent to an asylum), and where they should be subject to such a physical, moral, and intellectual training as would re-create them. Such training would be no child's play, since the very character of the women must be changed, and every good and healthy influence would be rendered useless without the one element of *time*. It is education in every sense which they need, and education is a long process, tedious and

wearing, requiring unfaltering hope and unfailing patience on the part of teacher and pupil. Consequently these reformatories must not be prisons, which would crush out the life of those unfortunate enough to be cast into them; they must be homes,—homes where a tender care shall surround the weak and fallen creatures who are placed under their shelter, where a homelike feeling may be engendered, and where, if necessary, they may spend years. The unhappy beings we are speaking of need, first of all, to be taught to be women; they must be induced to love that which is good and pure, and to wish to resemble it; they must learn all household duties; they must learn to enjoy work; they must have a future to look forward to; and they must be *cured*, both body and soul, before they can be safely trusted to face the world again. * * *

APPENDIX XVI

INSTANCES OF IMPROPER TREATMENT OF THE INSANE IN ALMSHOUSES

Ill-treatment of the insane usually comes of ignorance and cowardice. It is seldom the result of intentional or deliberate cruelty. The following instances are authentic although, for obvious reasons, names and places are not given.

Here are four instances from one state which are given not as examples of what usually occurs, but as instances of a kind that are by no means uncommon.*

"I found one superintendent who declared that he found the horse-whip to be the most efficacious means of quieting insane inmates." "I found an insane woman who had been kept strapped to a bed for over six years." "An insane man was found who had been kept in a stockade, open to the sky, winter and summer, with hardly a shred of clothing on him for seven years." "Another insane man was found chained to a stump in the poorhouse yard."

The same reporter goes on to say: "In a majority of the M——— almshouses there are cells for the confinement of the insane; in many cases manacles and chains are put on the insane, under which restraint they are kept for years; and they are all, if not brutally treated, at least grossly neglected."

*See Proceedings National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1903, page 386.

What is said here might probably be said with truth in many other states. Any number of instances might be quoted to the same effect. It must be remembered that only a few years ago, the insane everywhere were treated in just such a manner; the present humane and reasonable method is a modern development.

But the people who use whips, chains, and cells, will excuse themselves by saying that the insane cases in their care are violent and must be kept from hurting themselves and others. This contention is usually fallacious. Here are a few instances. An inspector of the state board found in T——— County almshouse twelve insane men, each locked in an iron cell with a grated door; three of them were stark naked, destroying clothes if they were dressed. The state hospitals were overcrowded. The county commissioners were reasoned with. They built a special insane ward with a large airing court containing grass and trees, a comfortable day room with a wide porch, and hired a competent attendant. The inspector went again a year or so later and saw nearly all of the same men (one or two had died) enjoying the porch on a fine summer afternoon, all clothed and quiet, one of the men formerly seen naked was playing on a mouth organ, another man was dancing a jig to the music. Not very good music nor artistic dancing, but it looked very good to that inspector.

In M——— County almshouse we found a man in a small wooden cage—in which he could just stand upright. He had been in there without a bath or a change of clothing for more than three years. His hair and beard were one huge mat, his nails like birds' claws. He was supposed to be "dangerous." Three months later the inspector saw the same man in the state

hospital to which he had been removed. He was sitting on a cobbler's bench, mending shoes for his fellow patients, a quiet, harmless, cleanly, useful inmate of the hospital.

In J——— County almshouse, Jesse O——n, insane, lived on straw in a cell, without clothing, covered with an old quilt. He was admitted to the state hospital, and carried there in a crate. In the hospital he was a quiet, harmless patient, giving no trouble.

In P——— County jail an insane negro occupied two cells week about. Every Saturday morning the jailer opened the cell door and as the man rushed out, knocked him down with a club and dragged him into the other cell, then cleaned out the one he had left, with a hose. The inspector who found him there took up the case with the state hospital and saw him a few months later, a quiet, harmless inmate of the epileptic ward, only slightly disturbed at the time of the seizures. But there was not a half inch square of his scalp without a scar from a wound that jailer's club had made!

The above cases were all permanently insane. The hospital treatment had not cured them. The difference in their apparent condition was merely due to a change from treatment that dates from the eighteenth century to treatment of the present day.

After a little experience an inspector of the insane, in fit and in unfit places, begins to believe with such alienists as the late Gundry of Ohio and then of Maryland, as Smith of Indiana, as Ferris of New York, as Searcy of Alabama, as Drewry of Virginia and many more, rightly honored in many states, that the way to care for the insane is never by violent methods. And this is true in almshouses as well as in state hospitals.

APPENDIX XVII

PLANS OF MODEL INSTITUTIONS

THE HOME FOR THE AGED AND INFIRM, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA*

Until the year 1906, the institution known as the Washington Asylum comprised almshouse, workhouse, and hospital in one. In that year the Home, of which the floor plans and a picture are shown, was equipped and opened.

The board of charities for the district say of it in their report for 1906, as follows:

The board is able to report that the Home for the Aged and Infirm at Blue Plains is now occupied. The inmates were moved from the old institution at Washington Asylum in the month of October.

The buildings at this institution are well planned and admirably adapted for their purpose. The plans have been examined and favorably commented upon by numerous persons interested in building institutions of a similar character in other communities. As so much interest has been manifested in these plans we have deemed it proper to have them partially reproduced and published with this report. We believe that the District of Columbia has secured a very large return for its investment, both in land and in buildings, at Blue Plains. The Home for Aged and Infirm is the cheapest institution erected by the District in recent years and, while it is excellently adapted for the

* See illustrations facing pages 1 and 95, and floor plans on pages 96 and 97.

purpose for which it was planned, it is to be regretted that the limits of the appropriation compelled economy in some directions which were unwise. For instance, it was necessary to use a tin roof when it was extremely desirable that either a tile or a slate roof should have been provided.

The plan of this institution is that of a group of cottages, connected by large covered passages which serve as lounging rooms. There is ample experience to confirm the theory that covered passages connecting the cottages with a central dining hall are not necessary adjuncts of the cottage plan. One objection to the covered passage is that, unless it is built of fireproof material, it does away to some extent with the advantage which accrues to a detached cottage plan through the lessening of fire risk.

On the other hand, it may be that the lounging rooms built in this way cost less than if they were a part of the buildings proper.

The advantages of the covered corridors are pointed out by the secretary of the board of charities of the District, who says:

"We have not found any difficulty in heating the lounging rooms and they have proved one of the most useful and attractive features of the institution. The question of heating might be something of a consideration in a more rigorous climate. Still these lounging rooms are so arranged as to be connecting corridors between different departments of the building, and it is desirable that these buildings should be as far apart as we have them. It would be necessary therefore to run a considerable amount of piping to carry the heat to these separate buildings if we had not the connecting corridors and there would be some slight loss of heat by

radiation or condensation even with the best methods of insulation. There does not occur to me any other criticism of the general plan. There is some criticism of the building as erected, but in that you are not interested. The faults I have in mind are due to the fact that the appropriation was too small for the size of the building and some cheap material was used—as, for example, the metal tile roof instead of the slate roof, as stated above."

The capacity of the institution is 260, of the hospital wards 24, which is about the theoretical proportion. These hospitals are simply for the use of the inmates. They are not used for the sick poor of Washington, for whom other provision is made. The cost of the building was $125,000.

This building has many of the features usually commended, and its plan deserves careful study by a governing board about to build for 200 or more inmates.

There are, however, a few errors of plan apparent. The large dining room seems not to be divided either for the sexes or by color, although the cottages are divided on the color as well as the sex line. There is no assembly hall or chapel shown. Perhaps one of the lounging rooms may take its place.

It would seem only reasonable to expect that the public institutions of the District, being to a certain extent under the control of the Federal Government and partially supported by Congress, should serve as models for all the states. In many respects this new institution is a model one.

ADAMS COUNTY ASYLUM, INDIANA*

This house was built in 1901 and cost $35,000. It is designed for sixty inmates and is on the whole a very well planned building. Among the excellent features may be mentioned the hospital departments at the ends of the wings on the ground floor, close to toilet and bath rooms and each divided into two rooms, one of which is evidently intended for a single patient; the matron's private hall, running between the dining rooms and giving access to the scullery and kitchen without going through the dining room; the convenient small bedrooms for old people on the ground floor, accessible to the dining and sitting rooms; the detached laundry building with the cell rooms for temporary seclusion, and other good points.

The proportion of bedroom floor space to dining room space is almost exactly 4 to 1, which is theoretically correct. The day room floor space is, theoretically, insufficient, being little more than 10 per cent greater than that of the dining rooms. If the house was full to its capacity and the inmates were all able-bodied enough to use the sitting rooms, they would be uncomfortably crowded. The result would no doubt be that many of them would use the sleeping rooms for day room purposes.

ORANGE COUNTY ASYLUM, INDIANA†

This institution was built in 1901 at a cost of $15,650; at present the cost would be 25 to 30 per cent higher. It is designed for thirty-eight inmates, nineteen of each sex. For a small house this is a very good plan,

* See elevation and floor plans, pages 18, 20, and 21.

† See floor plans, pages 128 and 129.

although it lacks some features that are desirable; among these are special quarters for old married people and a special laundry department. If the full number of inmates were present and all were able-bodied enough to use the dining rooms and sitting rooms, the latter would be overcrowded. Unless the front is to the north or west, the infirmary or sick rooms on this plan will not have sufficient sunshine.

THE ALMSHOUSE OF THE CITY OF NEWTON, MASSACHUSETTS *

This almshouse is one of the newer institutions of its kind in the state. Its plan is approved by the Board of State Charities and is considered about standard. It has many admirable features. It has also some defects, chief of which in the writer's opinion, is that of placing the kitchen and laundry in the basement. As is frequently the case, also, the sitting rooms are much too small; in this plan they are given considerably less floor space than the dining rooms.

The accommodations for the warden are sufficient and well arranged. It will be noticed that by means of a movable partition the two dining rooms can be thrown together so as to make a chapel or assembly hall for all the inmates.

THE ALMSHOUSE AT NATICK, MASSACHUSETTS †

This is a fairly good plan for a small town almshouse. The plans were evidently drawn for the particular

* See frontispiece, also elevation and floor plans on pages 30, 32, 33, and 34.

† See illustration facing page 75, and floor plans on pages 76, 77, and 78.

population to be housed, since there are fourteen bedrooms for men and only six for women.

Some objection might be made to placing the kitchen and other domestic offices in the basement. Unless individual wash basins, etc., are placed in different sleeping rooms, the number of lavatories seems too small. There is no sitting room for the inmates. The bedrooms are all single and all the same size, so that there seems no provision for aged couples together.

The rooms for the warden are well arranged and sufficient. The plan of the attic floor is not given, but the elevation shows a gambrel roof in the center and dormers in the wing attics, so that there are probably rooms for employes' bedrooms on the attic floor.

APPENDIX XVIII

SPECIMEN RECORDS

SPECIMEN INDEX CARD

To Use With the Following Record. (See pages 246 and 247.)

(This form is used when a new card is written for each admission and destroyed on discharge)

Jones, John H., Marion Tp.
No. 111. Adm. 9–1–1910
Previous Ad.
No. 2. Adm. 9–19–1909

SPECIMEN INDEX CARD

To Use With the Following Record

(This form is used when Index Cards are preserved permanently, and used for recurrent admissions)

Jones, John H., Marion Tp.
No. 2. Admitted 9–19–1909
Disch. 4–6–1910
No. 111. Readmitted 9–1–1910
Disch. 4–5–1911

N. B.—If this side gets full, write on back.

SPECIMEN OF CARD RECORD

Instead of Book

WASHINGTON CO. ALMSHOUSE, OHIO

Name, *Jones, John H.* Township, *Marion*
Number, *111*
Adm. by *J. Smith.* Age *66.* Nativ. *Ohio*
Col. *Wh.* Conj. cond. *Wid.* Height *5-7.* Wt. *155*
Col. eyes, *gray.* Col. hair, *gray*
Mental cond. *Sound mind*
Physical cond. *Crippled, rheumatic*
Remarks.—*Regular fall and winter residents, brother of inmate Sally Brown (wid.)*

Admissions	Reason of disch.	Discharged
1st. 9–19–1909	*Drunkenness*	*4–6–1910*
9–1–1910	*Insubordination*	*4–5–1911*

N. B.—Room for additional remarks on the back.

RECORD OF ADMISSIO
WASHINGTON COUNTY

No.	*Date*	*Surname*	*Given Name*	*Township*	*Admitting Officer*	*Age on Admission*	*Nativity*	*Sex*	*Color*	*Conj. Cond.*
	1910									
111	Sept. 1	Jones	John H.	Marion	J. Smith	66	Ohio	M.	Wh.	Wid.
112	Sept. 3	Tompkins	Henry	Center	P. Wilkins	75	So. Car.	M.	Col.	Mar.
113	Sept. 6	Brown	Mary	Center	P. Wilkins	37	Mass.	F.	Wh.	Sing.
114	Oct. 5	Brown	Peter	Born in	Almshouse	..	..	M.	Wh.	Sing.
115	Oct. 11	McCarthy	Martha	Newcastle	F. Hench	69	Ireland	F.	Wh.	Wid.
116	Oct. 25	Johnson	Phœbe	Henry	S. Jones	27	Ohio	F.	Wh.	Sing.
117	Oct. 31	Cartwright	Susan	Center	P. Wilkins	6	Indiana	F.	Wh.	Sing.

NS AND DISCHARGES
ALMSHOUSE, OHIO

Personal Description				*Physical Condition*	*Mental Condition*	*Previous Admission*	*Remarks*	*Cause of Discharge*	*Date of Discharge*
Ht.	*Wt.*	*Color Eyes*	*Color Hair*						
5.7	155	Gray	Gray	Crippled	Sound mind	Sept., 1909	Regular fall and winter resident	Voluntary	Apr. 5, 1911
5.8	149	Brown	Gray	Senile	Epileptic	Aug., 1906	Father of Hy. Tompkins, Jr., epi.		
5.1	130	Blue	Fair	A. B. pregnant	Feeble mind	July, 1909	Came for confinement, as usual	Voluntary	Jan. 2, 1911
..	..	..	..	..	..	Sept., 1907	Child of above	With mother	Jan. 2, 1911
5.2	130	Gray	Gray	Pneumonia	Sound mind	..	No relatives known in Co. buried here	Died	Oct. 16, 1910
5.1	120	Blue	Auburn	Able bodied	Feeble mind	..	Sent to State Inst. for F. M. Women	Transfer	Jan. 5, 1911
sm	all	Blue	Flaxen	Able bodied	Bright	..	Placed with Mrs. Smith, Maple Farm, Newcastle Township	Placed	Nov. 9, 1910

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